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HOW IT CAN BE DONE;

OR,

CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

This is the first and great commandment; and a second like unto it is this,

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,

On these two commandments hangeth the whole law, and the prophets."

JESUS CHRIST.

HOW

IT CAN BE DONE;

OR,

Constructive Socialism,

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BY

JOHN RICHARDSON.

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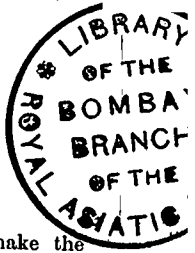

"It is the law of good economy to make the best of everything. How much more to make the best of every creature."—RUSKIN.

LONDON:
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1895.

ERRATUM.

Page 40, line 17, for " fours " read " four hours. '

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PREFACE.

FROM the time when Plato wrote his "Model Republic," up to the present, numerous Utopian schemes for the amelioration of Society have been proposed, beautiful as dreams, and as unsubstantial, yet all serving to cultivate a higher ideal, and each appealing to a more numerous class. Where Plato numbered his readers by hundreds. More could count thousands, and Bellamy hundreds of thousands. Few who have been charmed with the reading of these, or similar works, have failed to ask the question, "How can it be done?" and "What can I do to hasten it?" It is the object of the following pages to give an answer.

A leader-writer in one of our principal dailies, in commenting upon Social themes a few months ago, deplored the fact that, up to the present, there had been a total absence of any contribution to these problems from the pen of a man of business, really versed in technical and industrial matters, and who might indicate a rational way by which the desired results could be attained.

That something needs doing is admitted by all. The Age of Individualism, with its unrestricted competition, may probably have formed a useful, and necessary part of the education which Society needs in order to fit it for a more perfect state; if so, most, if not all the useful lessons to be learned from it, are now known, and in the opinion of many enlightened thinkers, it is high time we were preparing ourselves, and our country, for the New Social Era, into which without doubt we are entering.

Far from looking forward to this changed order with anxiety and dread, I believe it is one into which we may enter with entire confidence.

The opportunities which a varied life's experience have given, have convinced me that there is infinitely more good than evil in the world, and probably never was there in England such a high standard of conduct as now.

The evil connected with the members of every class of society, we hear and read about, through the courts and newspapers, but the immense volume of good goes on unrecorded.

Classes cannot be fairly judged from individual examples, and though there are doubtless some, yet the working-classes, as a whole, are *not* idle, drunken, and immoral, trying always to get as much—and to do as little, as they can; but are in the main, sober, industrious, and upright, and many of them take a real interest and pride in the success of the firms by which they are employed.

Landowners, and capitalists, are not all greedy, grasping, and unscrupulous. Amongst this much-maligned class, I have met with some of the purest philanthropists and most earnest Christians; men and women, leading simple, pure, useful lives, and with such a sense of pity and love for those in need, that they would be willing to "give all their goods to feed the poor," if by this means poverty and misery might be destroyed.

Tradesmen and manufacturers are not all slave-drivers and sweaters, though there doubtless are some such; many of them, however, deal most liberally with their employées, have a genuine regard for their well being, and do all they can to promote their happiness.

It cannot be too clearly understood, that under our present social and legal conditions, farms, factories, and businesses must be carried on, so as to secure a satisfactory profit, or they will not be carried on at all

As, however, competition becomes keener year by year, and the state of the unemployed more unsatisfactory, we are compelled to ask ourselves, whether the evils and hardships, seemingly inseparable from modern life,

cannot be eliminated by suitable changes in our laws, and the conditions of Society.

It is many years ago, during a period of long-continued depression in the trade of the country, that this matter was brought forcibly under my notice.

At that time I knew personally, not a few merely, but hundreds of industrious useful men, who were many months without work or wages, through no fault of their own, and their case was only a few degrees more painful than that of those who were employed on short time, and with the prospects of discharge constantly before them.

One of these I remember well, and his case is a typical one. He was a good workman, and as steady and respectable a man as ever lived. He had brought up a large family, and still had several children depending upon him.

His weekly outlay for food and clothing had prevented him saving much, and his independent spirit could not brook the idea of debt. Full time had just been resumed in the department where he worked, when a day or two after he came up to me, and apologizing for the liberty, asked if I thought trade was going to mend? I shall never forget the look of glad thankfulness which came into his eyes when I answered "Yes," and he then told me that for the last eighteen months, he had dreaded pay day coming round, and had never gone for his bag* without a sinking heart and a trembling hand for fear he should find within it that dreaded ticket with the words, "After next week your services will be no longer required."

This terrible care and anxiety is wearing out the lives, and destroying the happiness of thousands day by day, and the spirit of unrest that is abroad in all lands is no cause for wonder.

Many employers as well as workmen, are earnestly

*Containing week's wages.

seeking some way by which this unnecessary anxiety may be removed, and stability given to just, social, and commercial conditions. If there were a little more mutual trust and confidence between all classes, the desired remedies for our ills would be found all the sooner. The bulk of the members of all classes are anxious to do right so far as they know what is right. The question is a pressing one, and the problem of the unemployed must be speedily solved lest greater evils come upon us.

The method proposed in the following pages is at least practical and workable, and I believe would be the simplest and easiest way of doing what all profess to desire, viz.: "Abolishing poverty" it may not be the best way, but if its publication should lead to a more practical plan being proposed by some one better qualified than I for the purpose, the object of the book will be fully accomplished.

LINCOLN, DECEMBER, 1894

INTRODUCTION.

"How it Can be Done."

ENGLAND is probably the richest, as well as the most Christian country in the world. Within its borders there is the greatest liberty, the highest standard of material comfort, the most perfect philanthropic institutions. In England the most active efforts are put forth to secure prosperity and happiness to all its inhabitants; yet, we are told on the highest authority, that one-tenth of the population is living in a state of chronic misery and destitution.

We have in our Prisons and Reformatories an average of between 50,000 and 60,000 individuals; in deep poverty and want, nearly a million; and about two millions of loafers, paupers, and deserving poor, homeless and starving, dying by thousands of absolute hunger and cold,* while their ranks are being constantly recruited from the classes immediately above

* Starved to Death.—The *Labour Leader* of September 8 tells the following story and vouches for its truth:—"One day last week a man entered a baker's shop in Parkhead, Glasgow, and picking up a loaf of bread, bolted without paying for it. Soon the baker and a policeman were in full

them. The case of the aged poor is still more distressing: from a Parliamentary return obtained in 1893, it is shown that on the first day of August, 1890, there were in England and Wales alone, 286,867 paupers over sixty years of age. or one in four of the population of that age. Of those seventy years of age, three out of every five were paupers. and at eighty years, NINE OUT OF EVERY TEN. All admit that these things OUGHT NOT TO BE.

An immense number of agencies of various kinds are constantly striving to provide remedies for these evils, but with little or no permanent effect. Vast numbers of individual cases are dealt with, and with the happiest results; but, the total amount is almost inappreciable: and so long as the *causes* which produce these evils remain, the attempt to remedy them will be, like the task of Sisyphus, labour in vain.

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chase after 'the thief.' He ran like one possessed, entered a close and mounted a stair, and entered one of the houses, followed by the policeman. This is what the policeman saw. The thief was kneeling on the floor beside a woman who lay there with a child tugging at her breasts. The man with the loaf was gazing horrow-stricken and oblivious to everything. The woman was dead. Out of work, these three had been dying by inches till the husband could no longer endure the torture of seeing wife and child starve, and had gone out to 'steal.' But the Reaper came while he was gone, and the weary spirit of his wife had gone to rest."

To effect a reformation, we must first know the nature and extent of the evils we have to remove. Among the principal evils, which may be taken as types or representatives of all others, may be counted Poverty, Crime, Disease, Prostitution, Luxury, Tyranny, Insubordination, Trade Disputes, and Anarchy.

The causes of the evils, as generally understood, are somewhat difficult to distinguish from the evils themselves; the cause of one being the effect of another, and *vice versâ*. But they are usually given as Laziness, Intemperance. Incapacity, Improvidence, Gambling, Vice, and lack of Work.

That the above cannot be the *sole causes* of the poverty and misery which afflict our land (if, indeed, they are not all *effects*, rather than causes) is clearly proved by the patent fact that Laziness, Incapacity, Intemperance, Incompetence, Gambling and Vice are as common faults among the very rich as among the most destitute.

So that many are rich in spite of these tendencies to poverty, while many thousands are on the verge of starvation, spite of the fact that they are sober, industrious, pure and honest.

That it cannot be lack of work is evident

from the fact that there cannot in the nature of things, be any lack of work to do, so long as any possible work remains undone, or any need unsupplied, and that merely to furnish decent clothing, houses, and furniture to the two millions who are now destitute, would produce of itself a most pressing demand for workers.

That there really is a difficulty in getting useful and remunerative employment for many does not in any way show that there is no work to be done; but, merely, that those who have control over the land and the workshops, do not see their way to getting an increase of their riches out of the doing of it.

The work that requires doing in our own land is simply enormous. Beyond the work of clothing and housing the destitute, our cities want better building and cleansing, our wastes reclaiming, our marshes draining, our roads levelling, and our lands better cultivating; there are, besides, a thousand and one things to be done before our country is made as productive, healthy, convenient, and beautiful as it might be. It must be admitted that there is no lack of *Work*. Why, then, is it not done? The principal reason is as follows:—

When a labourer now asks to be employed,

the question is seldom or never asked as to whether it would be a good thing for the *labourer* that he should be employed, or a good thing for the *nation* that certain work, which he can do, should be done; but merely, can the individual to whom he applies make a *profit* for himself out of the labourer's work? If not, the work, however needful, may remain undone; and the unfortunate applicant is left to beg, borrow, starve, or steal

It is one thing to point out an evil, and another thing to remove its cause, or provide a remedy; and it is well to keep clearly before our eyes the object to which we wish to attain. That OBJECT is the Highest Happiness and the Greatest Good of every member of the community, so far as this can be attained without encroaching on the equal rights of others to the same kind of happiness and good. A human being requires for his health and happiness, food, shelter, clothing, occupation for body, mind, and spirit, companionship and recreation.

That there is in the world enough, and more than enough, of all good and needful things for the use of those living in it, is fully demonstrated. Year by year, the supply of corn, fruit, and cattle increases; year by year, new methods of manu-

facturing natural products are discovered. But also, year by year, the prices for them fall, and men are thrown out of work; and the superabundance of all good things, instead of being an increased good to all, is often a source of loss to the growers and producers, and of widespread commercial disaster. Of one thing we may be quite sure, there is no *good* reason why this should be so; and the fact that abundance produces evil to many, rather than good to all, is conclusive proof that there is an evil in our laws or the constitution of society, which should be discovered and remedied.

There can be no question that if all things, whether of growth or manufacture, were produced for *public use*, instead of for *private profit*, abundance of any good thing would be counted a blessing for all who needed any of it: and it will also be allowed, that a constitution of society which tends to bring these good things abundantly within the reach of all, is best fitted to promote human happiness. It follows, therefore, that any form of society which tends to hinder the production of these things, and the full participation in them by all, is an *evil*, for which the cause and remedy must be sought.

There has certainly been no lack of effort to

discover the causes, and to apply the supposed remedies; and amongst the many remedies which have been proposed are :—

The Reform of the Poor Laws.

The Reform of the Land Laws.

Prohibition of the Drink Traffic.

Compulsory Sick Benefit, and Insurance Societies.

State Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Orphanages.

State and Municipal Factories.

Allotments and Small Holdings.

Socialistic Colonies and Settlements.

State Emigration of the Surplus Population.

Co-operation.

Abolition of Private Property, and Community of Goods.

Old age Pensions.

Amongst the many legislative means by which some or other of these things are to be brought about, are :—

An Eight Hours Working Day.

Payment of Members of Parliament.

Abolition of the House of Lords.

Abolition of the Standing Army.

Bi-metallism.

It is not too much to assert that not any one alone, or (if it were possible) even the

whole of the above reforms would accomplish the object aimed at; and, unless corresponding effort were made in other directions, some of them might produce much more intense evils than those now existing.

That, nevertheless, society will eventually be so organised as to produce happiness for all, none who believe in the progress of the human race, or the teaching of Christ, can doubt; and it is the object of the following pages to shew

"How it can be Done."

CHAPTER I.

Conditions.

FOR a Social Reform to be successful the following conditions must be complied with :—

First, it must be possible ; *i.e.*, it must deal with human nature as it is, and not as it ought to be.

Second, it must make no violent and sudden change in the constitution of society.

Third, while the application is gradual, the effect should be immediate and certain.

Fourth, it must be permanent in its effect ; and, as far as possible, automatic in its operation, when once started.

Fifth, it must be just and equitable in its action, and equal in its application.

Sixth, it must be elastic, so as to permit of indefinite expansion, modification, and perfection.

——:o:——

It will be shown that all these conditions are complied with in the Scheme which will

be unfolded in the following pages, and which shall commence with a complete system of maintenance, education, and training, for all the children in our land.

But a short time ago, State-paid maintenance and training were provided for three classes only of the community, viz., the Members of the Royal Family, the criminals in our gaols, and the pauper children in our workhouses. The State has now recognized its duty to educate the children of *all classes*, in addition to those previously mentioned. All that is required is an amplification of our present system of elementary education, to adapt it to our real needs.

It will be admitted, that a man is of value to himself and his fellows, in proportion to the amount of goodness, strength, knowledge, intelligence, and skill he possesses, and the industry he displays. That being so, it is the duty of the State to see that as many as possible of its members should have these qualities; and in order to this, every child should have, from its earliest years, an equal opportunity of receiving a sound physical, moral, intellectual, and technical training. The training should not only commence early, but

be continued till each student's faculties become fully ripened and developed.

To commence with, we should require in every city, town, and village, an improvement in, and increased number of, Infant or Junior schools, suitable for children of both sexes of from four to seven years of age. The schools must be many in number, within easy distance of the children's homes; not too large, about one hundred children being considered a normal number of scholars.

The buildings should be substantial and beautiful; they should be erected in cheerful, airy situations, have extensive play grounds, and also large play rooms. Each school should have also a well-fitted gymnasium, and two large swimming-baths. These latter, though considered already a necessary adjunct to some of the best schools in London, may seem at first sight an extravagance for a junior school; but they are really of greater need and use for little children than for those grown up.

No one who has ever spent much time in Venice, or any of the South Sea Islands, can have failed to notice the ease and grace with which even tiny children disport themselves in the water as if it were their native element.

Little children are, as a rule, fond of being in the water, and can be taught to swim more easily than to walk, if trained properly. Further, a plunge bath every morning is a most valuable aid to health and cleanliness, and should form the first part of the day's school routine.

Coming to school at, say, 8-30, boys and girls by separate entrances, the scholars would enter a suitable ante-room, or rooms; and, leaving their own dresses, pass out at once into the bath for about fifteen minutes. Passing out at the other end, they would don the SCHOOL COSTUME. This is a matter of more importance than seems at first sight. Instead of the common, and often very ugly uniform, now used in many charity schools, which causes the children to be objects of scorn or derision, the costumes worn should be of very good quality of material, and be as prettily and tastefully made as is compatible with their use as school uniforms.

Coming, as the children would do, from homes with various standards of comfort, from extreme poverty to affluence, it is essential that they should be all placed upon the same level at once; and that level must necessarily be the highest. Thus, their toilets finished, and their costumes donned, they would all be raised to the same social plane.

There is a natural desire for distinction in every child's mind; if this can be gratified by difference in dress, the weakest and most worthless faculties are stimulated; but, granted uniformity in dress, while, if it be pretty and suitable, good taste is satisfied, yet moral, intellectual, and physical distinction is all that can be secured, and thus the highest faculties of the child are called into play.

After the bath, about fifteen minutes should be spent by the whole school in smart physical exercises, such as marching and drilling. This over, all the scholars should be marched into the dining-room, where breakfast for all would be served. Then, ranged in order, a simple hymn should be sung, and a short prayer offered.

A school of one hundred scholars should be divided into four groups or classes, such groups being presided over by a master or mistress, and as will be seen later on, it would be part of the duty of the senior scholars to help to dress and superintend the baths, dining, and amusements of the little ones.

The idea of giving food and clothing of the best, as well as instruction, to all the children of the land, may at first sight seem strange. But, as stated at the commencement of the chapter, it is

already given in England to Princes, prisoners, and paupers; so the idea is neither new, nor unconstitutional. Again, as is well known, in the large cities of France, Germany, and Sweden, as well as in London and Birmingham, free meals are already provided for a large proportion of the scholars, either by the State, Municipality, or voluntary agencies. The need then is admitted, but is at present very imperfectly supplied; and those getting supplied, are frequently the children of idle, dissolute parents, who could, if they would, supply the food themselves. A premium is now put upon laziness and selfishness; and the honest, industrious poor, as well as the struggling tradesman, and the heavily-taxed rich even, have a reasonable cause of complaint. When, however, the food and clothing supplied is the best that can be supplied, and is given—not to a selected few, but as a matter of right and law, to ALL, then all benefit, and none have cause of complaint. A definite and equal burden is at once lifted from all, and a definite and equal need is being supplied in the best possible manner.

The cost to the country, of providing food for a hundred children at one time and place, is much less than if the food had to be provided

in fifty different homes, by fifty different persons; and the advantages of common meals at school are many and great. Apart from the gain to health by insuring good and suitable food for all, the training in right habits at table, helpfulness, politeness, and consideration for others, are all matters which can as well, or better, be taught at a dining-table, than at any other time. The masters, mistresses, and elder scholars presiding and helping, should be all models of courtesy and good manners; and as in the Arab's tent, so in schools, colleges, barracks, and officer's mess-rooms, it is found that the common meal tends largely to promote those feelings of brotherhood and comradeship, which are among the best in our nature.

Another meal should be provided at noon, the food being simple and abundant, but of the best quality, and cooked or prepared in the most perfect manner. Very special attention should be paid, to provide from simple materials, pleasant, varied, and elegant repasts, in marked contrast to the often ill-cooked, monotonous, and wasteful fare found in many, if not most English homes.

It is unnecessary to give here anything like a time-table of the day's or the week's teaching;

but the principal aim of the First Grade Schools should be to develop the body, train the mind to think and observe, and educate the moral faculties; so that all the children should be taught to love truth, honesty, and fair-play. The best of our Kindergarten Schools may fairly be taken as a model for the method of instruction.

A good portion of the time each day should be given to the children, in which to employ themselves entirely at their own pleasure; and their tastes and their habits should be specially noted at such times.

While few, if any, lessons should be given to learn by heart, yet a start should be made with the very youngest, to teach them foreign languages. Two, at least, of the four teachers should be able to speak German or French perfectly. The words of command, in the drilling lesson, should be given alternately in the three languages; and the children taught to sing French and German songs. In this way, they would acquire a purity of accent, and naturalness of pronunciation which can never be attained in later years.

If, in the First-Grade Schools, the children merely learned how to walk and swim properly, how to use their eyes and hands intelligently,

and gained a familiarity with the correct pronunciation of three languages, it would be an immense good.

The school should be made a veritable children's paradise, and all its surroundings and associations should be pleasant and attractive.

Lastly, provision must be made in most, if not all the schools for sleeping accommodation for those children who have no homes of their own; or whose parents are unfitted to have the care of them.

This is now done, more or less badly, ineffectually, and wastefully in many ways by our State Orphanages (Workhouses), Foundling Hospitals, Children's Homes, and Reformatories. By this scheme, it would be done, certainly for all who needed it; and, above all, it would be done well, cheaply, and pleasantly for the children, usefully for the nation, and without the slightest taint of degradation or charity. If anything, the children who slept on the school premises would occupy a slightly higher rank than those who went home; boarders in a good school always considering themselves as something better than day girls and boys.

By this one forward step, we shall have done much toward the reduction of our national

misery; a heavy load will have been lifted from the shoulders of hundreds of thousands of struggling men and women. Nearly all, if not all the present horrors of starvation, neglect, and cruelty to children would cease to exist, a foundation would be laid for a strong, pure, intelligent and great nation; and, even had all the money to be raised by taxation, it would be as nothing to a country, some of the inhabitants of which can afford to spend a thousand pounds over the education of a *Dog* to run for the Waterloo Cup; and whose people, as a whole, accumulate, each year, over a hundred millions of pounds, for which no good use is found. When however, we come to ways and means, it will be seen that no extra permanent burden need be laid upon the taxpayers of the land.

CHAPTER II.

Second Grade Schools.

AFTER four years spent in the Elementary Schools, we should have a body of trained children, numbering nearly two millions, with well-developed frames, and trained hands and eyes; and with a higher standard of morals and intelligence than the children of England have ever before had. Their place would now be in the Second Grade Schools, where they would stay till fourteen years of age; by which time their ranks would be swollen by yearly additions from below, till they reached about four-and-a-half millions.

All these scholars should be provided with tasteful school costumes, and should be entitled to two substantial, well-cooked, and well-served meals every day. Also, such as have not suitable homes in which to live, would have comfortable and commodious sleeping accommodation, in connection with the school premises.

The school buildings, in addition to the ordinary class-rooms and lecture halls, should have at least two large swimming baths, gym-

nasiums, reading-rooms, and library, well stocked with periodical and standard literature, suited for young people; play-rooms, and extensive play-grounds, properly arranged for cricket, foot-ball, tennis, and other out-door games. These rooms and grounds should be available, not only for the recreation time during school hours, but should also be open to the scholars, during the evenings.

There should also be suitable workshops, where simple handicrafts could be taught and exercised.

It may be objected that seven years of age is too young for children to begin work, and, if the work were to be at all tiring or burdensome, the objection would be valid, though there are many thousands of children of not more than four years of age, who have to work for many hours a day, in the slums of our great cities. After, however, having had their fingers trained in Kindergarten work, so far from it being at all a disagreeable or painful task, from one to two hours useful work every day, would be a welcome relief to even the youngest.

Children cannot be taught too soon that to be of use, *i.e.*, to serve their fellows

in some way, should be the ambition of all. There are many light industries, such as toy making, artificial flower making, and others similar, which can be well done by children, while such arts as knitting, sewing, and pillow lace making, are best learned at this age.

The mental course of instruction should include all that is taught in the best elementary schools; and, in adition, foreign languages, French, German, Italian, and Spanish should be familiarized to the children; the singing, writing, and reading lessons being by turns in each of these languages. Music, also, instrumental, as well as vocal, should be taught to such as have any capacity for it; and *all* should be taught to draw, and use the simple tools of carpentry.

Boys and girls who are fortunate enough to have little workshops of their own, with plenty of good tools, not unfrequently, from pure love of it, manufacture elegant and beautiful pieces of work, and immensely enjoy the doing of it; both pleasure, therefore, and economic gain can be obtained from the working time of the children. The handicrafts specified should be taught to both boys and girls.

To know how to knit and sew, so as to be

enabled to make and repair his own clothes, is always useful and may be, in some parts of the world, a most advantageous accomplishment for a man; and to use simple joiners tools, so as to be able to mend or make small articles for the home, screw on a door knob, or ease a tight drawer, is a very valuable accomplishment for a woman.

The sleeping accommodation in connection with these Second Grade Schools will probably be needed in even larger proportion than in the Primary Schools. The good influence of a healthy Christian home cannot be over-estimated; while, on the other hand, the pernicious effect of a drunken and immoral home would largely neutralize the good effects of the school teaching. Under our present laws, when an infectious disease breaks out in a house, the healthy and diseased are at once separated, by removal to a hospital of the person affected. It must be admitted that it is at least as important to separate helpless human beings from dangerous *moral* surroundings; and this can only be done by almost total separation of children from criminal or vicious parents. By these means, their evil influence would be almost destroyed, and, in little more than a generation, it would be entirely removed.

Two infirmaries should be attached to each of our Second Grade Schools: one for the physically, and the other for the mentally infirm. By the former is meant the treatment of all kinds of bodily disorders; with, of course, a separate cottage for infectious diseases, and a sanitorium for the convalescent. The mental disorders to be treated are ill-temper, sullenness, stupidity, and unreasonable anger. These should be considered as illnesses, rather than moral faults; and isolation from the other scholars should be adopted, not as a punishment, but as a precaution against the spread of the evil. In the vast majority of cases, these evils will yield to reasonable treatment; and it is only the absolutely incurable who should be permanently separated. It will be seen later how both physical and moral maladies may be nearly, if not quite eradicated in a single generation.

So far, with the exception of making it more comprehensive and complete, the system of education indicated, does not differ much from what is well known, and in some places even adopted. At present, however, the school life of most children ceases at or before fourteen years of age, and much which has been taught

is lost. So far, however, from a child's education being finished when he has passed the sixth or seventh standard, or left Rugby or Eton, it is scarcely begun; and, as our object is to avoid waste of time and effort of every kind, means must be adopted to continue and perfect the work which is now well begun.

CHAPTER III.

Continuation Schools.

THE subject of this chapter is one of great importance, and, up to the present time, is so far from being well managed or understood, that a Royal Commission has just been appointed (March 1st, 1894) to examine and report upon the subject. This alone shows that there is grave cause of dissatisfaction with the chaos of our present system; and it may be taken for granted that mere night schools, Technical Institutes, and County Council lectures, however good, are but very temporary expedients, adopted for want of not knowing what to do better.

In connection with intermediate education, three points should be carefully kept in view:—

First, the development of the general all-round faculties of both body and intellect.

Second, the ascertaining of the real bent of the scholar's mind.

Third, the offer of such opportunities of choice, and practice in the special line chosen, as to obviate the risk of making a mistake in career. Every man has a best in him, but very few can

ever shew themselves at their best. To give this opportunity to all, should be the first object of our Intermediate schools.

As the Students in them will be from fifteen to eighteen years of age, it will be advisable to have separate buildings for the different sexes; but it would be well to build them in pairs, contiguous to each other, each having not only its own recreation-ground, for its own students only, but with its door also opening into a common recreation ground, which would be open to all.

All Students of both sexes will live on the premises during eight or nine months of the year; those who have not suitable homes of course residing there, or in some other schools during the vacations. The advantage of having resident pupils in any educational establishment is too well known, and too well established, to need any arguments in its favour. These advantages have been enjoyed hitherto only by the children of the comparatively wealthy, whose parents can afford to send them to boarding schools, Rugby, Eton, Mill Hill, Oxford, Cambridge, Newnham, Holloway, or other similar establishments; it will be shown that, without inflicting any greater

burden on the community, these advantages may be shared by all.

The school buildings should accommodate about 250 pupils; and, say, ten to fifteen teachers, technical instructors, and principals. The buildings should be both substantial and beautiful, and placed in the most healthy and convenient positions.* They should be provided not only with lecture halls, class rooms, swimming baths, and gymnasiums, but also with several reading rooms, recreation rooms, drawing rooms and parlours, dancing rooms, large elegantly-furnished reception rooms, art galleries, and museums of representative fossils, minerals, and physiological and anatomical specimens. There should also be a laboratory, well fitted with instruments and appliances for physical experiment and research.

In the public rooms and reception rooms, the

* Your present system of education is to get a rascal of an architect to order a rascal of a clerk-of-the-works to order a parcel of rascally bricklayers to build you a bestially stupid building in the middle of the town, poisoned with gas, and with an iron floor which will drop you all through it some frosty evening; wherein you will bring a puppet of a cockney lecturer in a dress coat and a white tie, to tell you smugly there's no God, and how many messes can he make of a lump of sugar.—*Ruskin.*

whole of the Students in each part of the college should, at certain hours of the day, be allowed and encouraged to freely mingle; and on one or two evenings in the week, visits might be exchanged between the Students of the different schools in the same town.

So far, no important departure from what is now being done has been indicated, but only a complete amplification and perfection of our present educational system; what follows, is what is required to ensure a complete education, in the true sense of the word, and at the same time a solution of the true, technical training problem; and beyond, and more important still, the attainment of the means for carrying on the work to logical completeness.

In connection with each school, there must be workshops sufficient in capacity for at least half the number of pupils; in these workshops should be practised a number of trades. It is manifestly impossible to have every trade taught in every school, but in each there should be a type of as many as possible, such as some branch of wood industry—carpentry, joinery, cabinet-making, or wood carving. The same with iron—smith work, foundry, brass and iron turning, fitting, implement making, or engine

building. Textile manufactures—spinning, weaving, and cloth making. Materials for the building trade—brick and terra-cotta making, stone masonry and carving; pottery—china and earthenware. While for girls, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, fancy shoemaking, spinning, weaving, dyeing, lithography, chemistry, photography, fancy industries such as fan making and painting, art pottery, watch making, jewellery, scientific instrument making, and many other light and useful industries in which delicacy and skill are required, more than strength.

Unlike the system pursued in our present industrial schools and technical institutes, all the work produced should be of economic use; and the students should be taught their trades just as in the best-regulated commercial factories; the object to be sought being not, as now, the training merely of the faculties, but the production, in the best and most perfect manner, of beautiful and useful things.

In a town or district of, say, 40,000 inhabitants there would be required twelve such schools; and among the twelve every useful subject would be taught and practised; while the simple trades, such as shoemaking, tailoring, dress-making and millinery, would be taught

in all. Each would also have a school of Scientific Cookery, in which all the school meals would be prepared; a laundry, with best labour-saving appliances, where all the school washing would be done; and attached to each, either contiguous, or within easy distance, a large garden, where all the vegetables, and a large proportion of the fruit would be raised.

The work of all kinds, both in and out-doors, would be done by the students; and instead of a staff of, say, twenty servants in each school, twenty or more of the students would take it in turn to perform the various duties, so that one week in each term would be spent by each in such employment. If imbued with the spirit of the Great Master, who came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister," all would be not only satisfied, but glad to earn honourable distinction in the way He taught when He said, "Whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all."

There is really no drudgery in performing even disagreeable tasks, for the sake of our fellows, when it implies no inferiority of position. The dissection of a human body in the

interests of Science and Humanity, is in itself a more loathsome and repulsive occupation than the cutting up of a pig, for the purposes of food; yet now, the former is considered honourable, and the latter menial; while in point of fact, if the object of either be selfish gain, the occupation is mean; and if to serve in the best way the interests of others, it is praiseworthy and honourable.*

By the adoption of the many well-known mechanical and scientific appliances, dirty and disagreeable labour can be reduced to a very small amount. Hydraulic lifts, steam heating of buildings, gas and electric cooking appliances, electric motors for working all kinds of labour-saving appliances, should be available for regular use; though each student should be taught to be independent of all, in case of emergency. In the same way, all the best labour-saving-appliances would be used to economize effort in all agricultural, mechanical, and scientific work.

* "With such a system of government, pure, watchful, and just, you may approach your great problem of national education, or in other words national employment, for all education begins in work. What we think, or what we know, or what we believe, *is* in the end of little consequence. The only *thing of* consequence is what we *do*: and for man, woman, or child, the first point of education is to make them do their best."—*Ruskin*.

Four hours in each working day would be spent by each student in the workshop, half the number of students using them in the morning, and the other half in the afternoon. In this way, the technical instructors, on the one hand, and the mental instructors on the other, would be fully employed; and both class rooms and laboratories would be fully utilised.

In three months, or in some cases three days, after his entry into a workshop, a boy or girl can begin to produce useful remunerative works. The author states what a life-long experience in industrial production has taught, that, without question, these students of from fifteen to eighteen years of age can, with the best appliances at their disposal, and in fours a day, earn enough to equal the cost of their food, clothing, lodgement, training, and education.

The ordinary school course of instruction would include all subjects taught in high-class schools, such as ancient and modern history and languages; geology, chemistry, metallurgy, anatomy, physiology, astronomy, mathematics, physics, and electricity; music, solo and part singing, the playing of all kinds of musical instruments, drawing, painting in oil and water

colours; and, in addition, to gymnastics, dancing, drilling, fencing, shooting, and horse riding should be taught.

As in the Second Grade Schools, not all the subjects would be taken by each pupil, but each would have the opportunity of choosing, and trying what he or she could do.

After two years, *i.e.*, by the time each pupil had reached sixteen or seventeen years of age, it would be necessary to definitely choose a career in life. Once chosen, with the consent of parents and principals of the school, the studies and work of the student would be specialized with a view to his career; and it might be necessary to change the school for another, where the special subject was more perfectly taught and practised.

It may be objected that a large proportion of the students would chose what are considered easy and pleasant careers, and then there would be certain to be, as now, a glut of barristers, clergymen, doctors, and politicians; while trades, business, and agriculture, would be neglected. This objection is met in the following manner. All the students, without exception, would be required to devote four hours a day to some useful wealth-producing

occupation, their task being *chosen for them* according to their ability, inclination, the possibilities of the situation, and above all, the *needs of the community*. The doing of this task would discharge the duty of the person to the community, and the remaining ten to twelve hours of the working day could then be devoted to the study and practice of any trade, calling, art, or science. Nor would the student in his choice be limited to one subject, but would have the opportunity of learning all that he could about as many things as he cared to study.

One very great advantage of the above proposition will be obvious to all. The great difficulty now almost invariably experienced by parents, viz., that of first choosing a career for their children, and then getting for them an opportunity for learning and practising it, would be entirely removed. What shall we do with our boys? and what shall we do with our girls? are questions which have been asked in public and private a million times and more; and hitherto no satisfactory reply has been given. Under the present system, heavy premiums have to be paid, and great expenses incurred, to secure admission, not

only in the professions, but also into many skilled trades; premiums which the majority are totally unable to pay. Young men and women have to be put, not to the occupation for which they are best fitted, but to those which are open to them; while large numbers are left out altogether, thus swelling the ranks of the unemployed, to the great loss and detriment of the country.

To find a place for all, and to fit every one into his or her place, so that all may employ their powers to the best advantage, is an aim which must commend itself to all who love their country and desire its prosperity.

That this scheme of education, as foreshadowed, would be an unprecedented interference with private business, goes without saying; but that it would necessarily injure any useful enterprise, does not follow. That it would stop the manufacture of millionaires is not only possible, but certain; and equally is it certain, that by abstracting so large a number of workers from the open market, it would effectually prevent the sweating and oppression of the remainder, a consummation devoutly to be wished.

In these Technical, or Third-Grade Schools,

while ample opportunity would be given for the acquiring of all kinds of useful knowledge, yet at the same time, ample provision must be made for recreation. At suitable times during each day or evening, all kinds of outdoor and indoor games should be played; and occasionally, more or less frequently as the principals may determine, the male and female students would meet for tennis, cricket, badminton, and such like outdoor games, botanical and geological excursions, and riding lessons. Also, at school concerts, lectures, receptions, conversaziones, and balls, there should be the same intermingling of the sexes, of course under proper supervision.

All the elegances and refinements of the most perfect homes should be used and encouraged; the object to be attained being not only to produce strong, wise, and useful members of society; but also men and women of the most beautiful form, of the highest honour, and most perfect manners.

CHAPTER IV.

University Education.

BETWEEN the ages of nineteen and twenty-one, inclusive, we shall have nearly two million students for whom accommodation will be required, and, by the time the scheme had been in operation sixteen years, some two hundred Universities, each with from twelve to fifteen affiliated Colleges, with about two hundred scholars in each.

The number of Universities, with the affiliated Colleges, would have to be increased year by year, till it reached the total number required, which would be about six hundred. Our older Universities at present are devoted mainly to classics, mathematics, and theology. These may be retained; but, in addition, we require Universities specially devoted to agriculture, architecture, navigation, metallurgy and mining, mechanics and physical science, law, medicine, art and music.

These should be placed in all parts of the country, so as to be most convenient not only

for the special branches of knowledge taught there, but also to be in the midst of the people. Thus, the agricultural Universities would be placed where immense tracts of land were available; while those devoted to navigation and ship building would be near the great sea-ports. Each would have, in the Colleges affiliated with it, all the means and appliances for studying and practising the branch of knowledge to which it was devoted. For instance, in connection with the Physical Science University, there would be Colleges specially devoted to astronomy, microscopic research, electricity, chemistry, sound, light, and heat, and other similar branches of science; and the colleges attached to the other Universities would teach similar sub-divisions of their special branches of study, and each would be furnished with all the apparatus and appliances needed.

So far as the author has been able to learn from investigating the System of Technical Training on the Continent and in America, there has been (with the exception of a few technical schools in Sweden) no serious attempt made to make the work of the schools pay for the expense of the same. And, so far as mere *teaching* in schools are concerned, this is right;

as it is no more reasonable to expect a lesson in smith work or carving to be immediately remunerative, than for a lesson in history or mathematics. Further, in no country is there yet a system so complete as to include all the youth of the nation up to twenty-one years of age, though many of the most advanced thinkers of different countries, including our Locke, and the French Rousseau, have seen the need of such; thus the school life of most students is far too short for it to be made economically profitable. Let the school life be extended from its present average of seven years to seventeen, and the opportunity is at once given, not only to acquire knowledge of some useful art or craft, but also to practise it with skill or profit. For this to be done, there must be in connection with each college, as with the Elementary and Intermediate Schools, a number of workshops in which some useful trade is carried on, and in which every student shall work six hours of every working day.

All the service, such as cooking, cleaning, etc., would, of course, be performed by the students in rotation.

The number of each kind of university that would be established would depend entirely

upon the needs of the country. For Law and Theology, probably one only of each would be needed, and certainly not more than one in each part of the United Kingdom. (The reason for this will be seen later on); while those for Mechanics and Agriculture would be required in every part of the country. In connection with the Agricultural University, colleges would give special attention to the manufacture and testing of natural and artificial manures, and other cognate subjects, such as stock breeding, farming, and veterinary surgery. In connection with each there would be large tracts of land upon, which enough corn and fruit could be grown, and cattle and sheep reared, to supply the needs of all engaged in them; and also to supply the inmates of those universities who were devoting themselves to other useful pursuits. In this way, the twenty million acres of land now out of cultivation would be utilized, in addition to that now growing food.

At present, out of a total area of land in the United Kingdom (exclusive of tidal water) of 77,642,099 acres, in 1893 there were under cultivation but 47,977,903. So that it is no exaggeration to say that, after allowing for

roads, cities and parks, we have still at our disposal another twenty million acres of land. Owing to the price of wheat being so low that it cannot be grown at a satisfactory PROFIT, it is gradually going out of cultivation, since 1887 the amount produced having fallen from 76,244,940 bushels, to 60,775,245 bushels. Yet no sane person would deny that a bushel of wheat will make as many loaves of bread, and feed as many persons as ever it did. As, therefore, we require wheat for *use*, and not for *profit*, our object must be to provide all we require, so long as we have the land upon which to grow it, and the labour to till it; granted of course that the land and labour could not be put to better USE for the community, not *profit* for the individual.

Now as we have both land and labour not used in any way, to set both to produce food must be putting them to a better *use* than now.

Prince Krapotkin (no mean authority), writing in the "Nineteenth Century" says, "If the soil of the United Kingdom were cultivated only as it *was* thirty years ago, 24,000,000 people, instead of 17,000,000 could live on home-grown food;—if the 1,590,000 acres on

which wheat was grown thirty years ago—only these and no more, were cultivated as the fields are cultivated now under the allotment system, which gives on the average forty bushels to the acre, the United Kingdom would grow food for 27,000,000 inhabitants. If the now cultivated area were cultivated as the soil is cultivated on the average in Belgium, the United Kingdom would have food for 37,000,000 inhabitants; and finally, if the population in this country came to be doubled, all that would be required for producing the food for 70,000,000 inhabitants, would be to cultivate the soil as it *is* cultivated in the best farms of this country, in Lombardy, and in Flanders, and to cultivate the meadows, which at present lie almost unproductive around the big cities, in the same way as the neighbourhoods of Paris are cultivated by the Paris *Maraichers*. All these are not fancy dreams, but mere realities. Nothing but modest conclusions from what we see round about us without any illusion to the agriculture of the future."

The above digression or interpolation seemed to the author necessary to show the extent of our resources and the reasonableness of utilizing them. That which is true about agri-

culture would be true also about all our manufactures and industries. There is no limit to the amount of wealth which can be produced, given the materials and intelligent and organized labour.*

It should not be made a stipulation that the workshops attached to a particular college should be those in which the whole of the students worked, but only that each one worked at some useful employment for a certain time, say six hours, each day. A student might be doing remunerative work as a brass turner or carpenter, while he was studying to become an astronomer or a lawyer; while lady students might be milliners, or watchmakers for six hours a day, and be learning music, painting, or mathematics, during the hours of study.

The mental study would be entirely optional, and would be followed only by those who had a decided love for it. Those who cared not to pursue their mental culture further would have the opportunity of spending more time in the workshops, or on the farms; and if they chose

* I have tested this by comparative results, and find that if all the land in this kingdom equal to my own, about 50 million acres, produced as much per acre as mine does, our agricultural produce would be increased by the enormous amount of £421,000,000 annually.—*Mechi.*

to waste their time, as many students now do, at Oxford and Cambridge, no compulsion would be used to prevent it, though the higher motives cultivated would lead largely to prevent such foolish waste. The only compulsion exercised would be that of securing the workshop service, and three hours each week for military and ambulance drill.*

So far from these Universities with their Colleges being mere workshops and factories, the highest and best intellects in the world should be at their head, for the mental training and examination of the Students; and besides, opportunity would be given to all to perfect themselves in purely ornamental accomplishments. More frequent re-unions of both sexes would be held, and a large and elegant recep-

*Both females, as well as males, would be thus drilled and trained in the use of arms. Not only would the nation as a whole be thus made stronger, but each individual in it would be more free and independent; perfect freedom and justice, can only be secured and maintained for all, when all, without distinction of class or sex, are equally powerful for offence or defence. All people are exposed to constant risk of an invasion of their liberties, when a section only of the people is armed, and under the absolute control of another still smaller section; hence the inferior legal position of women in most countries, and the tyranny and burden of the military classes in all countries maintaining standing armies.

tion room in each College should be open one night in each week for interchange of visits between members of the various Colleges, both male and female.

All labouring equally with their hands, and all contributing according to their several abilities to the common wealth, all would stand upon the same social level. From their earliest years, there would be fostered in each those feelings of independence, self-reliance, helpfulness, and respect for others, which go to form the foundation of the highest characters, and, so far from looking upon a life of luxurious ease as desirable, all would be taught to regard the diligent discharge of duty as the highest honour, and to esteem him the noblest character, who best served his fellows.

CHAPTER V.

STATE INDUSTRIES

WITH the maintenance, education, and training of all up to the age of twenty-one, the State may well be considered to have discharged its obligation to the children of our land. It is now for these trained men and women to discharge their obligations to the State; and in order to do this, their first duty is to pay back in *service*, the cost of the services which have been rendered to them. This can easily be done by each individual remaining in the public service for at least four years; and employing himself usefully for, say, eight hours each day, in the production of some article needed by the nation. Those who still had the control of great sources or stores of private wealth might, instead of remaining at work, refund, out of such stores, the cost of the education they had received.

It may as well be stated here that only those who really produce *wealth* will be credited with the value of wealth. Those who choose

rather to produce *opinions* or theories, like lecturers, poets, preachers, and lawyers; and those who are engaged in social control, such as Town Councillors, Members of Parliament and of the Government, Magistrates, Judges, Policemen, Soldiers, and the Officers of the Army and Navy, would receive no pay as such.* The poet preacher, or statesman who had a real duty to discharge or a message to deliver for the good of humanity would deliver it because of the divine impulse within him, as he always has in the past. There has never been any lack of honourable useful men to act as Magistrates, Councillors, Members of Parliament, and Public Arbitrators when needed; and the work of such will compare favourably with that done by paid advocates and salaried officials. When arduous duties are to be discharged, the best men are willing to discharge them; but when merely social position and money are to be gained, the mean and worthless are always to the front.

* All these would, of course, receive ample remuneration for the productive services they rendered to the community, for the doing of which they would have ample opportunity.

Under this scheme, as shown in preceding chapters, we shall now have got not only all the children of our land fed, clothed, housed, trained and educated in the most perfect manner, but we shall have provided a congenial and remunerative occupation for all the adult population of the land of twenty-five years of age and under; with the certainty of at least a useful and honourable career for life, for all those who choose to remain in the State establishments. This has been done with the very slightest interference with individual liberty, the only compulsion exercised has been to insist upon four years' services, or a money contribution equal in value, from all those who have received the State education. This is a very slight interference with individual liberty, in comparison with the compulsory military service enforced in most continental countries, and inevitable within a few years in our own, if the growth of militaryism be not checked.

This four years' service at congenial employment under the best possible conditions, is certainly not a high price to pay for the immense advantages obtained. Not only shall we have abolished nearly the whole of our pauper-

ism and destitution, but we shall have made crime almost impossible, by removing nearly all motive for its commission. Though not taking such a low view of the poor as is estimated in the well-known lines of the late Laureate, yet there is some truth in the statement that

"It isn't them as has money as breaks into houses and steals,
Them as has coats to their backs and takes their reg'lar meals;
Noa, but it's them as niver knows where a meal's to be 'ad.
Take my word for it, Sammy, *the poor in a lump is bad.*"

But more will have been gained; all foolish class distinctions will have been abolished, and the men and women we have trained with all the best faculties of the mind and body fully developed, will be valued only for their goodness, beauty, strength, and usefulness. All the youth of our land will have enjoyed the advantages now monopolized by a very few; and our country will have entered upon an era of happiness and prosperity, such as has existed hitherto only in the dreams of the philosopher and poet. And, doubtless many will say, "will never exist elsewhere, for plausible and beautiful as it may seem, it is

utterly impracticable, on account of the immense cost." Let us look at this objection. That the cost would be enormous, goes without saying; but if after examination it is found that it can be defrayed without imposing any additional burden upon the community, the objection will cease to exist.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COST.

FROM the latest Education Report, we learn that last year there were on the roll of our Public Elementary Schools over 4,800,000 children of from four to fourteen years of age, and a total of 97,933 teachers and assistants.

Attending private schools, or not attending school at all, there would be at least 3,200,000 of about the same age, or a total of 8,000,000.

From fifteen to twenty-one, there would be approximately 5,000,000 youths of both sexes, and from that age to twenty-five, there would be about 2,800,000.

We should thus have in our Primary Schools 2,700,000 between four and seven years of age; in our Second Grade Schools 5,500,000 from eight to fourteen years of age; in the Intermediate or Third Grade Schools 2,800,000 youths of both sexes from fifteen to eighteen years of age; and in the State Colleges or Universities 2,000,000 of from nineteen to twenty-one years of age, a large proportion

of whom would remain in the State workshops attached to the Universities until they were twenty-five years old; the reason of this will be seen later.

For their accommodation there would be required 27,000 Primary Schools of 100 scholars each; 27,500 Second Grade Schools of about 200 scholars each; 14,000 Intermediate or Third Grade Schools of about 200 scholars each; 10,000 Colleges of about 200 scholars each, and about 10,000 additional factories and farms of 200 workers each.

In the development of this scheme, the beginning would of course be made with Elementary Schools, and the others would only be provided as the children grew and needed them; a period of twenty years would elapse between the adoption of this scheme and its completion. The capital outlay each year would only be one-twentieth of the whole sum required for building, and this would be much further reduced by the use and adoption of many of the existing school premises, now owned by the State through the various School Boards and Committees.* A sum therefore of

* There were 19,500 schools under State inspection in 1892-3, very many of which could be utilised as Primary Schools.

£10,000,000 per annum† would suffice for building and repairs.

This sum, together with that required to carry on the scheme for the first fifteen years would have to be provided by loans or taxation; after which time the money begins to be repaid, if borrowed; or, if raised by taxation, the tax would be remitted, and the national education would become a source of national wealth, instead of a burden. If this can be shown to be correct, when the system is in full operation, a nation which wastes £200 000,000 per annum in useless and pernicious luxury, and uselessly accumulates over another £100,000,000, will have no difficulty in finding the necessary funds to put the system in complete operation.

Let us see, then, what will be the cost per annum, besides the £10,000,000 for building and repairs. It must be remembered, that nothing in any way approaching the sums following will be required in *cash* or *money:* the food, clothing, tools, implements, service, and teaching staff being largely self produced. But for clearness of illustration, it is best to assume that all costs are measured in money

† The sum of £10.000,000 is approximately the present cost of our Poor-Law system.

value, and that all services rendered are repaid in the same.

The approximate cost would be as follows :—

For food, clothing, and education of 2,800,000 children, between the ages of four and seven, at five shillings per week for fifty weeks, would be £35,000,000

For food, clothing, education, and partial lodgement of 5,500,000 scholars from eight to fourteen years of age, at ten shillings per week for fifty weeks, would be £137,500,000

For food, clothing, technical training and lodgement of 2,000,000 students of from nineteen to twenty-one years of age inclusive, at the rate of £50 each per annum £100,000,000

For food, clothing, and lodgement of 2,000,000 ex-students at £50 per annum £100,000,000

Buildings and repairs £10,000,000

Or a total nett cost to the nation of £382,500,000

While this sum may seem, at first sight, enormous, it must not be forgotten that, in-

cluding teachers, it deals with about 18,000,000 persons, *i.e.*, nearly half the population, and that the food, clothing, education and training must *now* cost an immense sum, probably much more than here stated, as it is carried on most wastefully.

Further, this amount for dealing with half the population is but *one-fourth* of the total income of the nation, which, by the best authorities, has been placed at £1,400,000,000.

REVENUE.

The required sum would be raised as follows :—

By produce of labour of 2,800,000 children in the Third Grade Schools at three shillings per week, for forty weeks ...	£16,800,000
By produce of labour of 2,000,000 students working for six hours a day for forty weeks in the year, at twenty shillings per week	£80,000,000
By produce of labour of 2,000,000 ex-students working eight hours a day during forty-five weeks in the year, at £5 per week* less £1 for personal use ...	£360,000,000

* The nett earnings (not salary) of each useful producer is *now* over £200 a year.

By cash payments of 100,000 students who prefer to pay for their education in cash, rather than in service—100,000 at £180 each	£18,000,000
Total	£474,800,000
Less cost of	£382,500,000
Surplus per annum for State management and incidental expenses	£92,300,000

By the money paid, or the labour performed in the State Industrial Department after completion of education, each student would complete the discharge of the debt incurred during the 17 years' training; and would enter life's work with a sense of independence and power which would be of incalculable value to himself and the nation.

Doubt may be felt by some that the amount indicated, as earned by Students, would be realized. Careful investigation into the question of production of skilled labour would show that so far from the amount having been exaggerated, it has been understated.

The experience of a life-time spent in industrial operations, justifies the writer in

stating that the organisation and working of the above scheme for meeting the cost of a national system of education is not only possible, but quite practicable; a statement he ventures to believe, that will be questioned by none who have the knowledge and experience requisite to form a correct judgment.

It must be remembered that, as stated on page 63, the annual income of the United Kingdom is now £1,400,000,000 and this, spite of the fact that a very large proportion of the population are non-producers of wealth; were all employed, the increase of wealth would be greater in proportion to the greater number of wealth producers.

Again, owing to trade competition, travelling, advertising, and other such like expenses, a very large proportion of our labour is wasted.

It has been stated on very high authority, and the writer's own experience tends to confirm it, that in many branches of manufacture of expensive goods, it costs quite as much to sell them as to make them; and with many small industries, very much more.

The introduction of labour-saving machinery into every department, and the proper organisation of all industries, can increase the

production of wealth enormously; an increased production of 200 or 300 per cent. is very frequently obtained by this means. It is no exaggeration to state that, on an average, the production of all might at least be doubled, if it was carried on for *use* only; that is, if each department were devoted to the production of one thing only in the best possible way. This is only possible when all is under the control of one management. A simple illustration of this is our Post Office, which, under proper organisation, can carry a letter hundreds of miles for a penny. If, instead of one, we had a hundred competing letter-carrying companies, each with its own carriers, sets of offices in every district, and each with its staff of servants covering the same ground, the work and cost would be enormously increased, and the public would be less perfectly served.

The cost of making a watch by hand may be not less than 50s.; and if a thousand separate tradesmen thus make them, we have a thousand watches made at a cost of £2,500 in labour. But, if with proper tools, and the suitable organisation of the thousand men, a watch can be made for 5s. in labour, then

these same men would in the same time produce ten thousand watches instead of one thousand. Private enterprise has gone a long way in this direction; but, great as is the advance already, more and still greater is possible with a State organisation such as would exist under the scheme as above described.

Having now got all the population educated and trained, up to twenty-five years of age, what would then take place would naturally be as follows.

Those who choose to follow a private, independent career, would do so. Some would travel, others live upon their tenants, as now, others would go into private trades and professions for which they would be well fitted. But by far the greater number would remain, as all would have the privilege of doing, in the State farms, factories and Art and Science workshops. If they still occupied their rooms, like fellows in a college do, they would be debited with the cost of their living, say £50 a year; and say another £50 for travelling and holiday expenses. If they worked for their eight hours a day, they would be credited with their earnings, say £250 a year, thus leaving a net £150 a year to their credit.

Even if they married, there would be nothing to prevent the wife still giving her services to the State for a great part of her time, say one half that of a man; thus having a married couple with a net saving of £225 a year, they having no expense in bringing up a family.

Granted, then, that each single person gave thirty years' service to the State; at the end of that time he would have standing to his credit £4,500—enough to give him an annual income of £225 for life, if he lived for another twenty years. Of course, he could spend more in his youth, and less in his age, if he thought good; but, at least, each person would have the possibility of securing a certain and ample provision for his old age. If he never needed it, there would be so much more to divide amongst those who did need.

With these advantages, few persons would take the risk of private trading; and, the greater the number in the State establishments, the greater the advantage resulting from them to all.

Having now fully described what needs doing and "How it can be done," let us examine how far this scheme complies with the condition laid down in the introduction.

CHAPTER VII.

How it Fulfils the Conditions.

First. It is POSSIBLE.

Now that so much has been done in the direction indicated, and with the best results it would be absurd to say that a further extension of our education scheme is not possible; as the extension would merely give to *all* the advantages now monopolized by a few.

All that is required is the passing of a Bill by Parliament, empowering the setting up of the First Grade Schools as described, and the provision of the necessary funds. Whether these funds needed for the first few years should be obtained by a loan or by a tax on mining royalties, by the appropriation of such part of the revenue of the Established Church as is by deed devoted to education, or by a further increase of the Death Duties, it is the duty of our Statesmen to say; but a country whose inhabitants have a surplus income of a hundred million a year, can have no real difficulty in finding, for such a pur-

pose, the few extra millions required for the first few years.

Second. It makes no violent and sudden change.

New schools are being constantly built now, and they are gradually becoming better. We should merely build so many more, and each so much better than formerly. With the adult population there is no interference; the change in training takes place with the young, most of whom, and in a short time the whole of whom, will have known no other condition of life, and they will thus grow naturally into the new order.

Third. While the application of the scheme is gradual, the effect will be immediate and evident.

There is no greater anxiety in the heart of the average man, than that for the future of his children. This anxiety would at once be removed. There is no greater torture than that of seeing his children starve for lack of food. That torture would cease, once the First Grade Schools were opened. The relief from the burden of a family, on the one hand, the freedom to go and seek work in any part of the country, in the second place,

and the immensely increased demand for labour to be employed in the building and furnishing of all the new schools, would make an "immediate" and "evident" change for the better in the condition of all useful persons in the land.

Fourth. It would be permanent.

The advance made through many ages, in the enfranchisement and education of the masses, has never gone back. It is those nations which have tried to keep the advantages of wealth and education within the ranks of a *small privileged order*, which have sunk into decay. All schemes of mere relief of poverty and distress, whether Mansion House funds, Poor Law relief, or attempts such as General Booth's and many others, to establish adult colonies of workers, have been attended with but little real success, and have indeed often produced much real evil. The habits of a lifetime cannot easily be changed, nor can idlers, loafers, and other incompetents, be changed, to any great extent, into useful honourable citizens.

If we would have our work permanent, we must begin with the young; if we would have a nation of adults, strong and industrious,

honourable and useful, intelligent, brave, and pure, they must, from their infancy, be trained in such virtues. The words of Solomon are still true: "Train up a child in *the way he should go*, and when he is old, he will *not* depart from it."

Fifth. It is just and equitable in its action, and equal in its application.

It is just, because it secures to every producer the full value of his labour, and secures to each the absolute use of what he has produced.

It is equitable, because it lays violent hands upon no private property or interest, and gives no advantage to any one person or class over another.

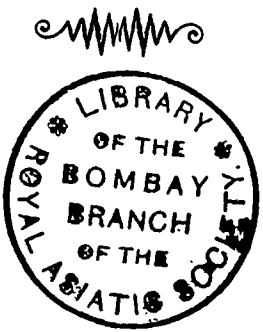
It is equal in its application, because whatever advantages are to be obtained by any, are offered and are open equally to all.

Last. This scheme is elastic, and admits of indefinite expansion and perfection.

It would take over twenty years to put into complete operation, as described; each year, the added experience gained would enable such modifications or enlargements of it as were shown to be necessary; in this respect differing widely from the rigid rules of the many Utopias

which have been tried in different parts of the world, only to fail.

The sort of governing rules for this plan of Education are set forth in the appendix in the form of a Bill to be passed by Parliament. Probably, however, the wisest plan would be to deal only with the elementary schools for the first few years, and form the regulations and laws for the others as they were needed.



CHAPTER VIII.

Alternative Schemes.

WE now come to the consideration of the various alternative schemes for securing the well-being of the nation, enumerated on page 15; and we shall see how most, if not all of the best features of each of them are incorporated.

(a) Public Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Orphanages.

The great utility and high value of such institutions is fully admitted; but nevertheless, few would deny that there are many drawbacks to each of them. In the first place, the supply is inadequate, the incomes precarious, and the benefits receivable are tainted with "charity," but another word for pauperism and degradation, and totally distinct from that larger "love," which is the essence of Christianity.

There is something far from right in the system which compels the applicant for admission into a hospital, to drag wearily from

door to door, seeking for a subscriber, knocking timidly at the back door, and waiting in a draughty hall till the rich brother has finished his dinner, or his nap, and can spare time to write out a recommendation.

Who that has any experience in such matters does not know the weary years of waiting, the thousands of letters to write, begging votes, and the cruel anxiety connected with getting a child into a good orphanage or school. Who does not know the terrible waste of effort and money in connection with nearly all of them; and also how few come nearly up to the ideal home of childhood.

Under the scheme proposed, the benefits given by all the present institutions, are secured much more fully and perfectly in connection with the State schools and factories, into which all children are admitted without question. So the immense funds which are now used or *wasted* in connection with all these institutions, could be saved, or devoted to better purposes.

As part of the equipment of each school and factory, as set forth in this work, there are infirmaries and convalescent homes. The Medical and Surgical Universities would furnish

all the skilled practitioners needed, and just when they were needed, while as for nursing, this would be part of the requisite training for all, and the special department of work allotted, to just as many as were needed.

(b) SOCIALISTIC COLONIES AND SETTLEMENTS, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, ETC.

Grand and noble as is the idea of colonies where all shall share in the common wealth, and all do their part in the common work, the awkward fact remains that wherever they have been tried they have failed.* Nor is it to be wondered at when it is remembered that they have been composed of men and women brought up and educated in individualism, with all their habits of mind and body perverted and fixed in the wrong direction. It is much to be feared, and altogether to be

* COLONISATION COLLAPSE.

Zanzibar, June 25th, 1894.

The Freeland Colonisation Scheme, organised by Dr. Theodore Hertzka, of Memna, and led by Dr. Wilhelm, has collapsed. The poorer members of the expedition will proceed home by the first steamer leaving for Europe. As regards the remainder, Dr. Wilhelm proposes, when sufficient funds are available, to proceed with a small party to Kikuyu. Such a plan is regarded here as inexpedient, and likely to result in failure.

expected, that all attempts to form adult colonies of self-sustaining workers with community of goods, will be failures. Men and women must be educated to understand and appreciate the higher state.

Many years ago, the writer was in Spain during the civil war between the established government and the partizans of Don Carlos. Both sides seemed equally bad; and, in a conversation on the subject with an old resident of American birth, the obvious question came up, "Why not get rid of both, if both are so bad, and have a Republic?" "No, sir," was the reply, "that cannot be in Spain." "'Cannot' is absurd," he said, "there surely must be some way of doing it."

"Wal, yes, sir, I suppose there is, if you put it that way. Of course you kin hev a Republic in Spain; but you must first get rid of all the Spaniards, and get in some Republicans."

A generation has nearly passed since that time, and a recent visit to Spain has made manifest the immense progress in ideas. Death has removed, year by year, the old monarchial Spaniards; and they have "got in," with the young generation, many Republicans.

In the same way, if we would have the Socialism of the Sermon on the Mount, with its high ideals and its counsels of perfection, we must grow up a generation trained to understand the real teachings of Christ, and to practice them. Then shall we build upon a solid foundation, and no power upon earth can upset the grand social edifice which will be raised upon it.

It must, however, be seen that a nation with its education and industries organised under the scheme set forth, would have practically community of work, and community of goods as a natural out-come of the education, and, obtained in this way, and on such a large scale, it would be permanent and successful.

(c) Co-operation.

But few words are needed to show that such an organisation of a nation's industries and arts as has been described in the preceding pages, is Co-operation with all its best, and none of its worst features: Co-operation, not for selfish money grubbing, but Co-operation for the highest good of all, and in the benefits of which each individual must of necessity share.

(d) ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Before considering the advisability of abolishing or not, Private Property, let us clearly understand what it is. The answer seems at first to be easy, and we are told that property consists of money in gold and silver coin, jewels, plate, furniture, houses, land, factories, mills, mines and other like things. All this is true, but not by any means the whole truth.

Public or national property consists of our public roads, bridges, common lands, and buildings such as palaces, gaols, workhouses, barracks, and schools, churches and cathedrals.

Natural property, common to all people, consists of air, sunshine, and sea, the power of growth and reproduction in all living things.

The former cannot as yet be owned or monopolised, and while the latter cannot be monopolised to any great extent, yet nearly all the advantages to be got from it can be secured by the owners (whether private or national) of the land.

For any good thing to be of use, it must be in a state and place where it can be enjoyed and used.

An old story is told of an Eastern despot

who impoverished all the subjects of his realm, in order that he might amass stores of wealth. He extorted from all parts heavy tributes of jewels and precious metal, which he stored up in immense treasure-houses in his palace, till he was the richest man in the world, and his subjects the most miserable. At last they rose up in revolt against him; he was secretly condemned to die, and to die in full possession of all his wealth.

The monarch's chief delight was to go by himself into his treasure-houses, and there survey and gloat over his boundless stores. So they who had conspired against him closed the door on the outside, and left him with his riches. Knowing nothing of the rebellion, for some hours he revelled in his hoards, feasting his eyes again upon the heaped-up bowls of diamonds, sapphires, and rubies, poured them out and gloried in their brilliancy under the light of the lamps. He examined afresh his strings of pearls, counted his chests piled up with golden coins, and swelled with pride as he knew himself the owner of the wealth of half a continent.

But lunch time came on: he began to feel hungry, so reluctantly he turned from his

treasures to go to the table and eat. And then he knew, for the first time, that the only exit was secured on the outside, and that he was a prisoner. Of what value then was all his wealth? Absolutely none. His hunger became more pressing, gladly would he have given all for a loaf of bread, a glass of water, and liberty, but in vain. One by one the lamps went out; and in darkness, and with the horrible pain of starvation, the richest man in the world died, with all his treasures within his reach.

True or false, the story teaches a true lesson, viz., that gold, jewels, pearls, or other property are of no value, unless they can secure for their owner air, water, food, clothing, shelter, and service of all kinds. It therefore goes without saying that if air, water, food, clothing, shelter, and service of all kinds can be secured in any other and easier way, gold, jewels, etc., will cease to be of any real use as means to the same end.

But a little reflection will show anyone that land is of no use or profit to the owner, unless someone cultivates it. Its value, then, comes from *labour*. A mine, whether of gold or coals, is of no value, unless a number of

miners will work in it, and bring up its contents and place them where they can be used and enjoyed. Its value, then, comes from *labour*. A ship is of no value without captain and crew; its value again comes from *labour*. A mill or factory, fitted with all the best and most perfect appliances, is of no use without the hands who work in it. Its value, again comes from *labour*.

The possession of private property, then, when looked into, is found to be the possession of the power of making others labour for the possessor's benefit; and this power can only be retained so long as the property owner can compel labour by making starvation the only alternative. It cannot be too clearly known that there is no such thing as stored-up wealth, whether inherited or acquired; all that there is, is the power to compel labour by starvation.*

* This statement is so contrary to the commonly-accepted belief, that it may at first sight be counted to be absurd. A little reflection and observation will nevertheless convince anyone that it is true. The necessaries of life created by *past* labour, in the form of houses, clothes, and food, rapidly waste with the using, and, if not constantly reproduced by present labour, would soon cease to exist, clothing certainly in a few years, and food, probably in less than twelve months.

It is idle to say the possessor of wealth pays for what he gets, *unless he be a real producer* with his own hands. So far from doing so, he compels one set of labourers to give part of their labour to him, and part to another set who are serving him; and then lets them keep the small surplus, if any, for themselves.

Thus he may pay £1,000 a week in wages to some of his hands who are making cloth at his mill; these pay it away to tradesmen living in his houses and shops, who pay part back in rent, and the remainder to others for clothes, corn, and meat, made at his mill or grown on his land; and thus, in one way or another, the whole of the money comes back to the capitalist. The labourers have been fed, clothed, and housed BY ONE ANOTHER; and the accumulated coins have been the means by which the labour has been controlled by the capitalist, and a very large part of its results appropriated to his service. It is also evident that by so much as he has taken for his own use, pleasure, and accumulation, by so much less has their labour been for themselves and one another.

Now, under this scheme of education, as

set forth, we have secured, in one generation, all, or nearly all, the available labour in the country—secured it, because in the State schools and factories, etc., it is so highly honoured and splendidly recompensed, that none but an idiot would degrade himself by being the wage-slave of an individual for little, when he could be a member of such a glorious commonwealth and secure so much. Hence, the so-called owner of Private Property would simply be left helpless; and yet none could fairly say that he had been unjustly treated, as all the good possessed by others, would be equally open to him.

"Private Property is Robbery," said a great French writer. Whether we agree or not with this definition does not in any way matter. The present owners are not necessarily robbers. By this scheme we do not propose to interfere with the possession of Private Property by any, nor to tax it in any way not now recognised as right and lawful. Those who choose to bear the burden of Private Property will be at liberty to do so; but when the possession of tons of gold, bushels of diamonds, or many houses, gives the owner a title to neither honour nor service, no wise

man would care to bear such a useless burden.

It is only during the past week * during the debate on the Death Duties, that one of our largest landowners said that if real estate had to be taxed the same as personal, *i.e.*, if landowners had to pay the same as traders, the amount demanded from them would be so great that it would be impossible to keep up in perpetuity such places as Chatsworth, and the many other princely residences of the aristocracy; and also that his subscriptions to schools and charities would have to be largely curtailed.

But with our scheme, there would be no call for charity, and no need for private subscriptions to schools, and if such a place as Chatsworth became more a burden than a source of satisfaction and profit to the owner. it would of course be gladly surrendered to the State, and either kept as a Public Park for the public recreation, or, with many others of the same kind, be utilized in all its beauty as a home for some of those whom the nation delighted to honour. In this way, as indicated by themselves, the great landlords would surrender their immense property, and would do this of their own free will.

* *June 21, 1894.*

One of the great advantages, if not the greatest advantage of riches, is that of being "well served"; and it is doubtless true that the possessor of limitless gold can now secure all the service he requires, luxurious home, fine apparel, dainty food, special trains, drawing-room cars, and obsequious attendance from his many menials.

But when the best food, the richest raiment, the most perfect homes, with all the highest conveniencies of civilisation are at the disposal of *all serving the State* as above, what advantages do riches give? There still remains, it may be said, that deferential and prompt attendance, without which the so-called aristocrat cannot live. This he can get now, no matter how vile and worthless he may be, so long as he can pay for it, and men and women can earn more money that way than any other. But, when such an education and such a career as sketched out, is possible to all, who will then be content to serve the unworthy? Surely none.

To serve one because he needs service, like succouring the weak, leading the blind, or helping a woman or child in distress, is an act that is grateful and honourable to all. To

serve one because that one is loved and honoured, is both pleasant and ennobling; and such service is now, and will always be cheerfully rendered. But to serve one who is worthless in character, and vile in temper, merely for money, when such a career as the State establishments offer, is open to all, implies such a depth of degradation and meanness as can surely never be found in man. Of whatever value, then, will possessions be, when riches cannot buy service? None.

The rich good man, thus, would surrender freely his surplus wealth to the State, because in so doing he would be making the best disposition of it; and he would gladly do right because it was right. The rich bad man would surrender his because in his hands it would be absolutely worthless and useless to him.

People now wish for private property that they may enjoy the comfort and luxury of life, and leave ample stores, so that their descendants may not suffer want. When all these can be obtained so much better without private property, it will be as useless and ridiculous as would a coat of mail, and the armed body of retainers, formerly required to protect

a person on a journey to London. Let our system of education, and its corresponding establishments be set up, and Private Property would die a natural death.

(e) EMIGRATION OF THE SURPLUS POPULATION.

For many years this has been tried in Ireland, until instead of increasing, its population has enormously decreased; within the last fifty years, it has fallen from 8,196,597 to 4,704,750. Yet the result has been far from satisfactory; instead of improving, it has gone from bad to worse. Of late years, with changed Land Laws, and security of tenure, *i.e.*, with opportunity of self-employment, the condition of the Irish nation has greatly improved, and the stream of emigration has begun to set inwards.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that emigration is perhaps the best way of getting rid of the "surplus population" of a country. The question, however, arises: When may a person be considered surplus? If, as has been shown, a useful worker can always produce much more wealth than he can consume, such an one can never be counted among the surplus. The skilful artizan, the cultivator of

the soil, the wise Statesman, the learned scientist, the inventive engineer, the poet, painter, and singer,—all these are needed. It is the useless men and women only who constitute the *surplus*—those who consume more than they produce; and any plan would be welcome by which the whole number of these Pall Mall Club, and street corner loafers, Hyde Park, and hedge-row tramps, German princes, and ginshop cadgers, could be cheaply exported, and settled on some waste place in the earth.

Probably emigration to some suitable island which could be acquired for the purpose, would be the best way of disposing of this surplus. Left to themselves, they would either develop into useful beings, or die out, and thus rid the world of a nuisance.

(f) Reform of the Poor Laws.

For hundreds of years we have been dealing with the poor in various ways; and in all, or nearly all, with very unsatisfactory results; and necessarily so, as we have dealt with effects, rather than causes. Granted to all an equal opportunity of employing themselves profitably and honourably, poverty could

only be the result of natural weakness, imbecility, or laziness. There is no difficulty in dealing with the first two classes: they are sick, and must be dealt with as sick, in suitable hospitals, as before described.

The able-bodied lazy would have no chance of exciting pity from any, as they do now; all tales of slackness of work, destruction of factory, tramping in search of employment, would be known to be bogus.

The really lazy must be left to starve, or join their brethren, the surplus population.

While all would have the opportunity, none would be forced to work; but their voluntary refusal would put them out of the pale of civilization, and deprive them of all claims to pity or help. "If a man *will* not work, neither shall he eat," is as true to-day as when said by St. Paul. Such cases, however, would be so disgraceful as to be very few; and would cease in less than a generation. All the reform, then, which would be required of the Poor Laws would be to reform them out of existence.

(*g*) Prohibition of Drink Traffic.

The evils resulting from the traffic in in-

toxicating drinks, economic, physical, and moral, are simply appalling, and are fully admitted by all acquainted with the facts. Whether the legal prohibition of the traffic is possible or probable; and whether, if prohibited, all these evils would cease, is a question of such doubt and magnitude that it cannot be fully treated here.

That alcoholic drink is useless as food, and generally pernicious, is well established. The facts concerning it would be fully taught in all the schools and colleges, and its use would, of course, be dispensed with. Thus, within twenty years, we should have the best half of the nation trained up without it, and trained to pity or despise the users of it, as sensible people now pity or despise, the slave to opium or laudanum.

With the establishment all over the kingdom of the State Colleges, with their lecture halls, concerts, reading and recreation rooms and grounds, their provision of art galleries and scientific museums, the other half of the nation would have other, better, and ampler means of recreation than the public-house; and it is reasonable to suppose that a large proportion of them would leave it for the better entertainment to be obtained elsewhere.

The maker or seller of drink, not being a useful member of the community, would be barred from all position of honour or profit; and his occupation, like that of a panderer, would be so despised and little profitable, that few, if any, would engage in it.

Even now, in many cases, the rich brewers who own the drink shops, have to pay their so-called tenants to live in their houses, and take the odious position of drink seller. When better positions are open to all, such men will no longer be obtainable, and then the drink trade would cease to exist—from lack of drinkers, on the one hand, and drink sellers, on the other.

In this, as in most other reforms, it is not so much the prohibition of the bad that is required, as the opening of the way to the good. When it is as easy to do right as wrong, there will be fewer wrong doers.

(*h*). Eight Hours Working Day.

The advocates of an Eight Hours Working Day have much reason on their side, in contending that a diminution of the hours of work, would compel the employment of more labourers of all kinds. This may be admitted, and also that the greater demand for labourers,

would tend to raise the price of labour. This was proved when the hours of labour were reduced from ten to nine. There has been a definite advance in wages of from five per cent. to ten per cent., and it may fairly be presumed that a further reduction of the hours would so stimulate the demand, that there would again be a rise of about ten per cent.

But the question arises whether it would be right or politic to make a law, fixing the day at eight hours. At present the balance of opinion is against it, and rightly so. Whatever may be done for dangerous and unhealthy trades, State interference for regulating the hours of the great bulk of workers is not desired or desirable. But, if to every man and woman is given the opportunity of employing themselves well and usefully, and earning such an income, and laying up such a store for old age, as is indicated on page 67, in eight hours, none then will be willing to work longer hours for a private employer. The question, then, would settle itself, without any law penalizing longer hours.

In this, as in many other such debatable matters, the right plan is to give to all, the *free opportunity of doing right*; and then there

will be little or no need to punish any for doing wrong.

(i) PAYMENT OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

It is said and believed by many, that we shall never get useful laws made for the benefit of the people at large, until the masses are enabled to send direct representatives of their own class to Parliament; and there cannot be anything like the proper proportion of them, unless they are paid sufficient to keep them suitably there.

There is much to be said for this; but against it is the damning fact, that in America and other countries, where members are paid, no better class of men is got, and no greater number of working class representatives. There is the evident danger of Members of Parliament who are paid, and who are dependent upon their pay for a living, voting rather for measures which will keep Parliament sitting, than for those of which in their consciences they approve.

There is so much power in the hands of the masses now, that they can, when united, secure the election of whomsoever they please; and can thus compel the passing of laws such as they desire.

The possession of money, however, does give an advantage to a rich candidate, and this advantage is unfair, and should be avoided. The scramble for office and its spoils, does act in a way (to put it mildly) that is prejudicial to the character and estimation of many of our politicians. If then, a state of society could be attained by which it became equally possible for all to enter Parliament, equally profitable for all to remain there, and in which, so far as pecuniary gain or loss was concerned, it became a matter of perfect indifference whether a man was in or out of Parliament, or in or out of office, then certainly, and *only then* could we be sure of getting rid of the money-grubbing politicians, and securing for the service of the State, the best men of all classes.

Rid parliamentary debates of all speakers prompted by self-interest, whether capitalists, brewers, lawyers, or lords, and it would be found that all the real business could be done in less than one quarter the time. When "each man's gain is all men's good," the good of all only will be sought after; and about two hours a day, for say three days a week, would be all that would be required. With such a little demand upon a member's

time, there would be no objection to Parliament sitting all the year round, with a few weeks holiday in the summer and winter.

Nevertheless, with its present heavy demand upon Member's time, busy men of commerce and hard working barristers can manage to attend to its duties and still do their own work. Why, then, should it be thought desirable that a Member of Parliament should be relieved of earning his living?

Under our present condition of society, it is of course impossible, or nearly so, for a working man to earn his living, and attend properly to Parliamentary duties, but if he were sure, as he would be, under this scheme, of employing himself usefully for eight hours, say till four in the afternoon, and he then chose to give of his leisure time to the service of the State, as Member of Parliament, he sacrifices no *iota* of his income, and not one scrap of independence. He can vote always as his conscience dictates, knowing that he can suffer no loss; the acceptance or refusal of office would make no difference to his income, which is provided by the labour of his own hands.

It may be argued that those who produce, and also serve the State, as Members of Parlia-

ment, Town and County, Councillors, or Officers of State, whether as Magistrates, Policemen, or Judges, should be paid more. But the highest income can give a man no more food than he can eat, no more clothes than he can wear, and the use of no more than one house at a time; and when the best of *everything* is at the disposal of *each* of the State workers, a millionaire can and does *possess* no more. He may, under the present conditions, hinder others from possessing them; that is, he may have control over five hundred suits of clothes, and a hundred houses—lock them all up, and thus render them useless—but he really POSSESSES, *i.e.* uses, but one suit, and lives in one house at a time, and except to his pain and detriment, can eat no more than the poorest.

As we give, then, *as much as he can use*, of the *best of everything*, to each person who serves the State in *any capacity*, it would be folly to give more to anyone, and greater folly still for such to receive, and be burdened with it.

A Secretary of State, Prime Minister or King, a Town Councillor, Mayor, or Policeman, is under the same obligation to *produce* during

thirty years of his life as any other person; if he be a sensible man, he will see the need, and will not object to it; if he does object, it will show him to be unwise, and therefore unfitted for such a post.

In this way the great question of "Payment of Members" would be settled. Every one would be so well provided with remunerative State industrial employment, that an extra salary as member, would be useless and unnecessary. Every one would have abundant leisure to devote to Municipal and Parliamentary duties in any capacity, but no one would receive one farthing extra for so doing. If such an one secured the love and esteem of his fellows in a marked degree, this could be shown in many ways, any of which would be superior to that of giving him more food than he could eat, more clothes than he could wear, and more houses than he could dwell in.

(*j*) ABOLITION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Whatever useful office this institution may or may not have performed in the past, there is a growing conviction that it is useless and pernicious in the present. But the difficulty is, how to get rid of it. Fortunately the

Lords have no power over money bills, so that the requisite funds for putting the education scheme into operation can be obtained without asking their leave. And if the difficulties in the way of the Abolition of the House of Hereditary Lords be so great that it cannot be done, yet after the training of but one generation in the way above shown, the power and influence of hereditary nobility will have completely died away.

The idea of *hereditary* nobles, or hereditary law-makers, is so utterly absurd and unreasonable, that it will only be required to be understood, to be rejected by all reasonable and unprejudiced people. It has been fostered by interest, and pandered to by the State Church, bribed for the purpose; and an ignorant population has not yet seen through the delusion.

Once, however, let the people be educated equally, and trained to use their reasoning powers, let all be made equally independent, or, what comes to the same thing, equally dependent, and the idea of hereditary power or privilege will be seen to be so absolutely ridiculous that it will die naturally, just as the idea of the miraculous power of the king's touch has died.

Once deprived of their power to veto the laws passed by the Commons, as they have been deprived of their power over money bills, there is no longer any need to trouble about the Lords; and if they like to meet and talk to each other, even to dress up occasionally in their antique finery and furs, and make a show of themselves for the amusement of the curious, they will injure no one, and only cause legitimate amusement to the spectators.

(*k*) State and Municipal Factories.

Under the present conditions of society, it must be conceded that, however much good State and Municipal Factories might do to some, yet they must work evil to others who now supply the goods which would be made in such factories. Further, if the State paid better wages than private individuals, and had to compete with them, such factories would be carried on at a loss, and the community would be taxed to make up the deficiency. This would be unjust to the private traders who would have less trade and more taxes at the same time. Any *partial* interference, like the setting up of a State Factory to supply *part* of the needs of a community for a certain class of goods, is likely to do more harm than good.

When, as in the case of Municipal Gas Works, Water Works, or the like, the local State does *all* of that kind of work, it is shown to be a success.

Now, as is shown in the foregoing pages, every man and woman is trained to produce skilfully, and in connection with the training establishment, every opportunity is given for exercising this skill. The advantages offered to each are so great, that all, or nearly all, would remain as workers under the State conditions. Thus in one generation we should have established State and Municipal Factories in a natural, simple, and easy manner. The people of the nation would have grown up with the new ideas, and no one could possibly be placed at a disadvantage, as the advantages would be free to all who chose to accept them.

The change would be made so gradually that it would only be noticed by the greater sense of security, and total absence of strikes or trade disputes. The best of all the private works would be taken over, as needed by the State. The unsuitable ones would die out as they do now; but the absorption of all workers by the State would permit the closing of such

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out-of-date establishments, without causing the great distress which now results from such closing. In this way we should grow into the use and immense advantages of a State regulation of our industries, without trenching upon anyone's rights, or prejudicing anyone's position.

The idea of master and servant, is repugnant to all lovers of freedom, and is incompatible with equality of education, status, and opportunity; incompatible also with the teaching of the Christian religion, and the idea of the brotherhood of man. With the absence of the private employer hiring labour for his individual profit, we should also get rid of trade disputes, strikes and sweating—immense private fortunes on the one hand, and grinding poverty on the other.

(*l.*) Allotments and Small Holdings.

All the arguments for and against State and Municipal Factories hold equally with regard to allotments and small holdings. In proportion to the benefits agricultural labourers get from these, under the present conditions, the tenant farmer must suffer; and his lot is a hard one now.

Corn cannot be grown at a profit, to sell

at 25s. a quarter,* even with the present low rate of wages: how much worse, then, must be the position of the unfortunate tenant farmer, when the labourer, being rendered independent by his holding, demands and gets more wages?

But when the land of a nation is *used* by the inhabitants of the nation, in the way best adapted to serve its needs, there is no question of growing corn at a "profit," and it needs no argument to prove that, as stated on page 49, a quarter of wheat will make just as many bread loaves, and feed just as many people, in other words, is just as much *use* to a community. whether its nominal or gold value be 20s. or 100s.

The farming, then, under the direction of the Agricultural Colleges, of the whole land for the use of the people, and by the labour of the people, will secure the maximum of good with the smallest expenditure of labour; thus giving to the labourer a better position than that of an allotment cultivator, and, to the present heavily-burdened farmer, such a state of prosperity and plenty as he has not seen at least in this generation, and under the

* The present price of wheat (Oct., 1894) is but 17s. 6d. a quarter.

competitive system could never expect to see again.

(*m.*) Reform of Land Laws.

With the passing of the Democratic Budget of 1894, the great reform of the land laws has commenced. Land now no longer occupies a privileged position as compared with other classes of property, as regards Death Duties. The present owners of land are now in vain (*see* Debate on Death Duties, July 9th, 1894) begging the Government to be allowed to pay the heavy duties in land rather than in cash. When the possession of landed estates no longer obtains for the possessor, privileges, power, or the esteem of his fellows, few if any will care to be burdened with it; and the only reform of the laws needed will be the use of the power now possessed by Parish and County Councils under the new Bill, to acquire land fairly and compulsorily for State use.

So long as money is demanded to compensate the present holders of land, it can be obtained, either by means of an increase of the *Death Duties*, or by a heavy tax on land kept out of *use* and allowed to lie waste, or be

devoted to mere sporting purposes. So far from being partially exempted, such land should be most heavily taxed, and such a tax might be needed at first.

But the Death Duties are the most reasonable and equitable; such duties do not injure or cause loss to the present owners. Their successors, though they receive less, still, so long as they obtain more than the average man, are placed in a position of superiority to such, and have therefore no good ground of complaint. The moment their position becomes less good than that of the average citizen, they have the same opportunity as others of entering the State service, and sharing the State benefits.

Only when the nation, as a whole, has resumed possession of the whole of the land, will the Land Question be settled; and by the scheme of national cultivation as shown above, this can most easily and effectually be be carried out.

The gross iniquity of the present state of things is well shewn by the following extract from a small work on the subject :—

"It cannot be too often repeated that the condition upon which Land-Lords obtained

possession of the Land, was: that they should pay for the defence of the Country, and for the support of the Church and the poor; and, that, it has only been by their own votes that they have been relieved from their responsibility. The people to whom the land belonged never had a voice in the matter.

"**By the original bargain the Land-Lords ought now to be paying** (*a*) the interest on the National Debt, (*b*) the cost of the Army and Navy, (*c*) the Tithes, and (*d*) the Poor Rates;—a total of about **79 millions a year.** As a matter of fact, however, they do not pay **two millions.**

"In 1660 the Land-Lords voted themselves out of their obligations, but, in 1692, pressure was put upon them, and they agreed to pay 4/- in the pound of the full value of all real property. This, however, they have evaded.

"A land tax at even that small amount would be at least 35 millions a year, but the amount the Land-Lords pay is very little over one million, because **they have not allowed a true valuation of the land to be taken for nearly 200 years.** They pay upon the valuation of 1692, although the true value of all real property is now at least twenty times as much.

"The Land-Lords are, no doubt, individually, honourable men, men who would scorn to cheat anyone, but there can be no question that in their corporate capacity they have committed, and carried on for generations, a gross fraud upon the nation." *From "Thoughts for Thinkers," by Hinc Solon.*

(*n.*) ABOLITION OF THE STANDING ARMY

As our Standing Army costs us annually no less than £21,000,000, its abolition, other things being equal, would relieve the country of this immense burden. With every man and woman trained to the use of arms, and ready to use them in any right cause, a Standing Army certainly could be dispensed with. Its existence is contrary to the ancient laws and usages of England; and unless a very good case could be made out for it, the army should cease to be. It is supposed to be kept up in order to defend us from the inroads of foreign nations; but for this purpose, is certainly much less useful than a fully armed nation would be, defending its home at all points.

The late John Bright once said that the army was merely a gigantic system of out-

door relief for the younger sons of the aristocracy: in other words, we maintain the army, so that it may make a fashionable occupation, and provide an income for its officers. To a certain extent, perhaps to a large extent, this is true; but it is not the whole truth. The principal use of a Standing Army is to enforce the payment of taxes by the people, and to compel the workers of the nation to submit to the unjust conditions under which some money grubbing capitalists compel them to work.*

There is scarcely an unjust tax, from the Ship Money of Hampden's time, the Church rates of a generation ago, or the Welsh tithe of to day, which has not been collected at the point of the bayonet.

In our own time, and in our own land, the principal service the army renders is, in Ireland, to help sheriffs and bailiffs to collect unjust rents, assist at evictions, and help emergency men to destroy other people's prosperity; in Scotland to help grasping landlords to oppress their crofter tenants, and make

* Let me here say that there are many private establishments worked by capitalists, where the conditions of employment are not only just, but as generous as is possible under existing social conditions.

immense tracts into a wilderness; and in England, to put down popular movements, repress free speech, and, when need be, to shoot down innocent men and women, as at Peterloo and Featherstone.

There is no tax which has had to be collected at the bayonet's point, which has not been, or shortly will be, remitted. There is no movement of the people, repressed by the army, which has not ultimately triumphed, whether that of the Chartists, crofters, Irish tenants, or Trafalgar-square speakers.

Social order can best be secured by making social conditions right, not by repressing the expression of discontent with injustice and wrong.

No internal force is required, to keep in order a people that is contented, industrious, and happy; and, granted that such people are trained to defend themselves, no outside force, or combination of forces could ever conquer or oppress them; their power and position would be so impregnable that none would try.

As our youth in our colleges became trained and disciplined, the army might gradually cease to be, being replaced by something infinitely

less costly and more effective. None, from the Commander-in-Chief to the drummer-boy, would receive pay for merely acting as a soldier, any more than the Politician, Judges, or Police; but all would take their turn as a national duty, when required for an approved purpose.

(*o.*) Bi-metallism.

There is a large, and it is stated, an increasing number of people who honestly believe that the adoption of Bi-metallism would remove most, if not all of the evils from which we now suffer.

Their position briefly appears to be this. There being a limited quantity of gold in the world, and an increasing demand for it, the metal naturally appreciates, or increases in value with relation to other things; and to continue to insist that all debts shall be paid in this metal, and all contracts made in it, is unjust to those who have little or none of it. Whereas, if silver could be used at a fixed ratio, say 16 to 1,* either with gold, or instead of it, for the same purposes as gold, it would immensely relieve those nations which

* About this ratio Bi-metallists are undecided.

had plenty of silver. These nations could then discharge their debts, and freely enter into new business; the result of which increased activity would be such an immense stimulus to trade, that England, though she might receive payment for debts and goods in a depreciated medium, would, nevertheless, gain by the increased trade, much more than she lost by the depreciated medium. At the same time, all silver-using countries would gain immensely, the total result being an era of universal prosperity.

England, however, has so much money owing to her in gold, that it is most unlikely she would ever agree to accept silver, at sixteen of silver to one of gold, when the real value is about thirty to one.

There can be no doubt that if all nations would agree to do this, it might be done; just as, if all nations agreed to accept a certain weight of any other metal or thing, it could be done. But it is so unlikely that it is hopeless to expect it. IF Bi-metallism were adopted it might cure many of our ills, but the "IF" is too big.

Whatever is our "measure of value," it must be stable, and it ought, to be perfect,

to maintain a constant ratio of value to all other things.

Whatever is our "medium of exchange," it must either have intrinsic value, like gold; be a truthful representative of value, like an iron warrant, a Bank Draft against money paid or goods delivered, or a valid promise to pay, like a note on a solvent bank.

Nearly the whole business of the world is now done through the "medium" of Bank Notes, Bills of Exchange, Bank Drafts, and the like; that is, through a medium having no intrinsic value in itself, but being a truthful representative of value.

The *measure* of value, however, is gold, and the Bi-metallist is right in stating that gold has not the primary requisite, viz., that of maintaining a constant ratio of value to other things. It may be the best we have, but it is not by any means a perfect measure.

Everybody everywhere would like to pay in that article of which he is possessed. There is but one valuable article which is possessed by all; that is the product of his own labour. As, then, all good and useful things can be shown to be either the result of natural forces, and therefore common to all; or the result

of labour working upon natural products, a day's productive labour by a skilled person on one of the State farms or factories, would always represent some real value; and when all are equally well-trained, would practically represent an equal value.

There is much labour that is unproductive, like that of a cotton or share broker, a betting man, company promoter, or footman. Productive labour is always valuable, as when it turns a lump of clay into a brick, a piece of wood into a cabinet, a few ounces of metal into a watch, or by tilling the earth, causes it to produce more abundant food.

A genuine certificate that so many days of this useful labour had been performed would represent a "real value," and would be quite as legitimate a "means of exchange" as a Bill of Exchange, or Pig Iron warrant.

This labour certificate would have pre-eminently the qualities required; it would be stable, that is, it would be always the same; and, however much production might increase, yet the things produced by a day's labour would increase in exactly the same proportion.

Thus it would always maintain the same ratio of value to other things, to itself, and

to other days' labour. Further, as a medium of exchange, it would be equally within the power of all to be possessed of it. Gold now is only valuable in so far that it can command labour. Labour is the only indispensible thing; and for it, and to it only should the certificate be granted. It follows naturally that all the results of labour, that is all goods and things, would be the property of the nation or authority granting the certificates.* Thus, if the wood and brass contained in a cabinet was the result of three days' labour, and the turning of the wood into a cabinet was the result of five days' labour, whoever wished to be possessed of it must give eight days' labour for it. In this way, only useful persons could become possessed of useful things.

To a certain extent, and in a certain way this is done now. The coin given to a workman may be regarded as a certificate that so many days' labour has been performed, and it will certainly command the service of so many days' labour in return. But the land, factories, and tools, being in the hands of

* Of course each certificate when exchanged for goods would be cancelled or destroyed as Bank of England notes now are when exchanged at the Bank for gold.

individual owners, who run them for *profit*, a labourer can only get a certificate, in the form of a coin, when it pleases the capitalist to grant one. And the capitalist will grant to the labourer a certificate or wage for only about one-third of the work he has done, the remaining two-thirds going in what are called trade expenses, that is, interest on capital, advertisements, travellers, agents, and other expenses necessitated by competition, and his private profit.

Thus, not only is the worker prevented from using his labour when and how he likes, but he gets a certificate in payment for seldom more, and very frequently much less, than a third of what he has done. At the best, if he has constant employment, he gives three days' labour, and receives one in return. Under a righteous system, as set forth, he would give three, and receive three in return; one is enough for his needs; the remaining two-thirds would be available for his luxuries, and to make provision as shown for old age. And there would never be lack of circulating medium, wherever there was a useful labourer.

(*p.*) Provident Societies.

The good which has been done by these

Societies, such as the Odd Fellows, Sons of Temperance, Foresters, and the various trade societies, is incalculable; but they are far from being free from danger. Further, they are exposed to the risk of bad management and failure, defalcation of officers, and lack of funds. They are only partial in their application, and many who need them most, *i.e.*, the sick and aged, are not admitted into them.

Even at their best, their benefits are limited. The writer has known many sad instances, of which the following is a fair sample.

A steady man joined two Societies of this class, and paid his subscriptions for many years. He was likewise an investor in a Co-operative Society. At the age of about fifty-eight his health failed, and he had to go on the funds. For many months he was in the enjoyment of a good income; and had he recovered, or *died*, all would have been well. The continued existence, however, in a state of comfort, of a working man who ceases to work, is at present a contingency not provided for in our civilisation.

This poor fellow had spent forty years of his life in his country's service as a carpenter; but after fifty-eight years, was never fit to do any

more work, out of simple weakness. He had an income of about 25s. a week for six months; 12s. for a further six months, then ran out of the benefit of both clubs, foolishly continuing to live when no longer needed. He had a hundred pounds saved, and invested in the Co-operative Society; within three years this was gone. Thus this sober, industrious, thrifty working man, who had denied himself and his family many little pleasures. so that he might have a provision for his old age, became absolutely in want; and to his intense grief, had to live upon charity.

This ought to be impossible; but the instance given, is but one of many which have come under the writer's notice. The advantage of Provident Societies is great for temporary needs; but is totally inadequate for permanent incapacity to earn a living.

There are three evils against which Benefit and Provident Societies make provision, or attempt to do, viz., temporary sickness, lack of work, and old age. Now, as in connection with every school and State factory, there will be not only a duly qualified medical attendant, but also a sick department, and convalescent home, cases of sickness would be much better

dealt with than is possible now for the average worker. The medical attendance would be of a higher class, and the diet and surroundings would be much superior. Further, the degradation of having to go and beg for an order, for those not in sick clubs, and the disagreeableness of the inspection and sometimes suspicion, of the sick visitors, for those who are in them, would be avoided. Each person would claim the best medical attendance as a right, in the same way that he can now claim the protection of the police at home, or the good services of a Consul or Ambassador abroad.

There could be no inducement to malingering, for though the sick person would receive food and lodgement of the best, without further payment, yet he would of course be losing the benefit of his earnings, which would not accumulate when he was not, from any cause, at work. He would, further, be under medical rules, as all wise patients must be, and thus loose some part of his individual liberty.

The second evil, lack of work, would *never be*, as the State factories and farms would be always open for all who chose to employ themselves; and the work would be not only

the most highly remunerative, but also at the same time the most honourable. All workers for the State, from the Prime Minister to the brick maker, would be equal in honour, and differ only in position.

My readers must bear to be reminded here again that there can be no "*lack of work*" so long as any necessary or useful work remains undone, any field uncultivated, any land undrained, bridge unbuilt, coat unmade, or house not erected.

There can be no "*over-production*" till all reasonable wants of all people are fully satisfied; this, of course includes the wants of any one needing employment, and the remuneration for it.

The next consideration, then, is the provision for old age.

(*q.*) Old Age Pensions.

Various schemes of Old Age Pensions have been brought forward during the last few years, the most generous being one which would give a sum of 5s. a week to all over sixty-five years of age.

The offer of 5s. a week is an insult to a man who has been a useful member of society,

or has done his best to be so, for the greater part of a life-time. The evening of a man's life, that is, his time of rest from labour, should be that to which he looks forward with pleasant anticipation, as the entering into possession of his estate. Under the scheme proposed, this would be attained perfectly. There is no good thing, or harmless luxury which ought not to be within the reach of the aged servants of the State; pleasant homes, dainty and delicate food, attentive service, carriages and horses, the admission to all places of entertainment, seaside homes, and splendid gardens in the summer, and warmth and comfort in their surroundings during the cold weather. So far from looking forward to the bare penury of a cheerless poor-house, or a miserable pension of 5s. a week, to be supplemented out of the scanty earnings of their struggling children, they should have the certainty of every comfort.

These are the men and women the State should delight to honour, the veterans of life's battle; in proportion to their skill and usefulness, so should be their rank and position. If any of them cared for titles, let them have them: titles cost nothing. And all the

other good things can be obtained for the amount, viz., £225 a year, which as shown on page 67, would be at the disposal of every married pair.

The food, even of the best, would not *cost* the State more than the labour to produce and dress it, say £75. The houses are built by the students, and furnished and decorated by the same. Once made, the only real cost is the repairs due to wear and tear, which is really very small in a well-built house; and which, again, is done by the students as a part of their education. So with all the attendance they needed, all public vehicles, like high-roads and hedges now, would be free to them. Their clothes, of the richest and best, are made by the students in the State Schools, and there would be no man milliner, or Court dressmaker, to demand a hundred times their value for goods with the *cachet* of his name.

Their proportion of the cost of the horses and carriages placed at their disposal would be limited to the keep of the horses, and the repairs to the vehicle, say another £50 a year.

Thus we see how our aged workers could be treated as they should be, and no one would feel the burden oppressive. All, looking

forward to the same rights and privileges when their life's labour was over, would see it to be to their interest, as well as their pleasure and duty, to make the resting-time of every useful citizen, as truly happy, and as highly honourable as possible.

CHAPTER IX.

OBJECTION CONSIDERED.

HAVING now before us the complete scheme, and seeing how it contains within itself the best parts of most, if not all, other suggested remedies, let us examine some of the objections which may be raised against it.

It will be said that it will remove children from their parents' control and influence.

This objection is more imaginary than real. In the first place, no parents who chose to educate and train their own children would be prevented from doing so, so long as they did educate and train them properly. Those who neglect these duties are now subject to legal punishment, and to having their children removed to State establishments, *i.e*, workhouses, industrial schools, etc.

Again, all who had suitable homes could have their children at home with them every evening; in fact, for the greater part of the twenty-four hours. The advantages, however, of residence in the educational establishments

would be so great, that most would avail themselves of them. But even then, correspondence by letter often establishes a firmer bond of affection and influence than does mere daily contact; and it reveals on the part of both parent and child, traits of character, modes of thought, and reasons for mutual love and esteem, which would have been found out in no other way.

There is also this fact, that nearly all parents who can afford it, do now place their little ones under hired governesses; and, as they grow up, to boarding-schools and colleges, or to business establishments away from home. And this is because almost universal experience has shown that this course is best for the children. Wise and good parents would, by correspondence, visits, and the children's holidays, keep their full influence over the members of their family. While if this duty were neglected by the immoral and vicious members of the community, so much the better for the children.

Second, it would tend to bring all to a dead level of mediocrity.

So far from this being likely to be the case, the probability is entirely in the opposite

direction. Securing, as it would to all, a complete education and an honourable competence, by the employment of only a portion of each day, and providing all, with an adequate pension and congenial surroundings at the age of fifty-five, or earlier, nearly every one would be much more at liberty to exercise his private tastes, and indulge in his private pursuits, than is possible now. Even if he worked his full eight hours for the State, there would be at least six hours more for him to use just as his taste or fancy directed him; while the majority are now condemned to unremitting toil, varied only by sleep.

With the opportunities thus given by their leisure, and with the advantages of the higher education, the best of each would be brought out. And while nearly all would attain to a much higher level than the present, yet the special bent of each mind would become more cultivated; and the difference in natural gifts and talents, would always maintain that agreeable diversity which lends such a charm to society.

Third. It may be asked, "Where should we get our servants, if all are thus trained

and educated?" If by servants, menials are meant, the answer is simple. Such a class of persons would cease to exist; and it may fairly be asked, "Why should one portion of the community be compelled by circumstances to fill positions of servitude and submission to others?" Especially when it is remembered that the so-called masters and mistresses are often inferior, in morals and intellect, to their servants. The present system is so unfair and unjust as to be indefensible. Naturally, the most dirty and disagreeable work could be reserved for criminals or lazy members of the community. But both the number of criminals, and the amount of disgusting work, would diminish year by year, or be done automatically by machinery; as witness the difference between the modern, and the old-fashioned way of dealing with domestic and town refuse. As scientific education advances, and mechanical appliances become more perfect, further improvements are constantly being made; and will continue to be made, until no work remains to be done but what is pleasant, as well as serviceable.

The cleaning, preparing, and trimming of fifty oil lamps, was a dirty and disagreeable

task even for a menial; but what lady would be too dainty to press an ivory button with her finger, and fill a house with the bright radiance of the electric light. And what man would not esteem it an honour to superintend for say six hours a day, the working of a central station, where without noise, dirt, or difficulty, light, heat, and power would be distributed to every house in the district.

Fourth. It would be a great interference with private trade and commerce.

True. But the first results of such interference would be a great improvement in both, owing to the large number of new buildings required, and the satisfying of the needs of hundreds of thousands of individuals, who now lack nearly everything.

So far from any good undertaking being injured, the best of all the factories, mines, and other wealth-producing industries owned by private individuals or public companies would be taken over by the State; for all and far more than all would be required. As the old merchants, traders, and workers died, their places would not be filled by others of the same class, as the great bulk of the younger members of the community would re-

main in the State establishments, and the change from private to public ownership of the means of production would quietly effect itself.

Many other objections could be raised and answered without difficulty, but enough has been written to show that the advantages of this scheme infinitely outweigh the disadvantages. A careful consideration of it will convince the thoughtful that, though some few, *i e.*, the very rich, would suffer loss of riches, yet that no real loss is incurred or injury done to them, while the great masses of the community would benefit immensely.

CHAPTER X.

Conclusion.

HAVING now formulated what is wanted to be done, the practical question arises, "How to do it?"

Before it could be put into complete operation, an Act of Parliament, on the lines of the one given in the Appendix, would have to be passed. Everyone acquainted with such matters knows the difficulty and delay connected with the passing of such an Act; and, with a House of Commons composed principally of land owners and rich men, it would be impossible. Political power is, however, now entirely in the hands of the masses; and it is not only the privilege, but the duty of these workers, to see that there interests are properly represented.

Let the views of the Social Reformers be well represented in every political committee and association; and let the members see that pledges exacted from Parliamentary candidates, are given in favour of measures leading in the direction of the desired reform.

Above all, in selecting candidates, let workers steer clear of very rich men. There are honourable exceptions; but, as a rule, a rich man desires to enter Parliament to protect the interests of his class; and such a course of conduct is openly avowed and recommended by Company Promoters, Railroad Directors, Brewers and Distillers. Such men are the least desirable of any; and scarcely less so is the heir to an immense fortune amassed in trade, who depends less upon his merits to secure election, than upon the lavish distribution of money in his constituency. A candidate who spends, and gives money to any great extent should always be regarded with extreme suspicion; and should be rejected, unless a careful scrutiny of his previous life shows that the natural bent of mind and daily practice, are in accordance with his professions.

While using every lawful effort to get such alterations made in our laws, as will put the whole system of Education in operation, there is no need to wait for such an act before beginning; as, by the proper use of the present laws, great advances may be made.

In every City, District, and Parish, where

it is not already done, the Elementary Schools should be placed under the control of a School Board; and in order to do this, only those in favour of School Boards should be placed upon the Councils.

Bigots of all sects, and mere money-grubbers will object, but their selfish objects can be over-ruled by the votes of the people.

Having secured the formation of School Boards, the next thing is to elect upon them men of advanced ideas, of whom the number is greater year by year.

Some of our Board Schools are now almost models of what they should be; and the regulations of the Education Department are all in favour of good school buildings, and high efficiency in teaching. Instead of being content with the lowest legal limit, the standard of compulsory attendance should be raised to the highest. It is within the power of the School Boards to provide swimming baths, gymnasiums, and musical instruments, reading-rooms, libraries, and extensive playgrounds, and to secure the teaching of most of the subjects enumerated in the preceding pages; and the better the teaching, the higher the grant, especially for advanced subjects.

Upon every Parish, District, County and Town Council the same class of men should be placed; and if proper use be made of the provisions of the new Act, an abundance of land at a low rent, can through these means be placed at the disposal of the people, as well as improved dwellings, public rooms, gardens, and parks.

A still more important power is now in in the hands of the people. By the Local Government Act of 1894, the whole of the members of the Boards of Guardians are elected by popular vote, and there is practically no property qualification. None but themselves know the infinite goodness of the poor to the poor; and none but the poor know the harshness and grudging stinginess displayed by some rich guardians and Poor Law officials. There are some, even many, brilliant exceptions; but not a few of the present number of Poor Law Guardians are simply guardians of the rates. Under the care of real guardians of the poor, a house for the reception of the aged, and those who are in want, through no fault of their own, should be made a veritable Home, where every comfort will be supplied, and where the officers will be taught that their

highest duty and pleasure must be to make their inmates happy.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 28th of December, 1893, thus describes an existing scheme :—

"At West Derby married couples that apply for relief, providing they be respectable, well-behaved, and above sixty years of age, are not required to go into the workhouse. The Poor Law authorities have built for their special use a row of one-roomed cottages near the Workhouse, at Walton-on-the-Hill. These cottages are cheerful, cosy little places, with an individual, homelike air about them which is decidedly pleasant. Evidently the inmates have been allowed to bring with them some few at least of their own most cherished possessions. The furniture is of the plainest description but well made. The beds are soft and warm, the arm-chairs are easy if not luxurious, and, judging by the appearance of the fires, the supply of coal must be unlimited. Thus the majority of those who live there are probably better housed than they have ever been before in their lives. They are required to keep their rooms neat and clean, but this is no difficult task, as they have plenty of hot water close at hand, and

all the necessary utensils for cleaning, as well as for cooking.

"The old couples have their meals *tête-á-tête*. Their dinners are served to them hot from the general kitchen, but they must prepare their other meals for themselves. All their food is excellent in quality, and in quantity is as much, if not more, than they can possibly eat. Every day each couple receives a loaf of bread, and once a week a supply of tea, sugar, butter, etc. With their provisions they are free to do just as they like. They may save part of their dinner for their supper if they choose, or eat all their sugar and butter on the day it is dealt out. No one will interfere with them, so long as they do not ask for fresh supplies until the appointed day comes round. This is a trifle, a touch of consideration which costs neither money nor trouble; but none the less it is a real and much-appreciated boon.

"The rooms are regarded as the special property of those who live in them; and, although their friends may visit them on certain days, and their neighbours look in upon them from time to time, neither the one nor the other may do so uninvited. The inmates

are free, if they choose, to deny admittance to all visitors, excepting, of course, the officials whose duty it is to look after them. Thus, so long as they conduct themselves properly, the old people are to all intents and purposes in these cottages as in homes of their own. And keenly do they seem to appreciate their well-being. Those who maintain that a contented pauper is a thing unknown would do well to pay Walton-on-the-Hill a visit. There they would find paupers who are not only contented, but happy—as happy, at least, as people after sixty are capable of being. Life in a cottage home is evidently by no means the dull, wearisome, hopeless business it is in a workhouse. At least the inmates of the cottages at Walton-on-the-Hill seem alert and interested in all that is going on around them.

"An important point about this experiment is that the unusual degree of comfort the old people enjoy under the new system is the result not of a lavish expenditure of the ratepayers' money, but rather of infinite care and thought on the part of the local Poor Law authorities. These cottages are not expensive institutions. Two of them can be built for about £100, and provided with the necessary

fittings and furniture for an additional £15 each. Owing to the necessity of keeping up separate fires and lights, the cost per head of living in a cottage is higher than in a workhouse, but the difference is not great. In the workhouse at Walton-on-the-Hill, a man and woman together cost at least 7s. a week, and considerably more if either of them chance to be infirm or delicate. In a cottage-home a couple cost rather under 9s. a week. The extra 2s. a week can hardly be regarded as a very heavy price to pay for enabling two poor old people to pass their last days in peace and some moderate degree of comfort."

"There is no reason why this method of dealing with the aged should be confined to married couples. It might be arranged to include, of course at their option, all aged paupers who are in good enough health to be out of an infirmary or hospital. Whatever may have been the previous life of men and women who have now reached the age of sixty, and are not inmates of a prison, it is no advantage to the community to add any burden to their declining years. We may as well let by-gones be by-gones. To allow them to die in an atmosphere of freedom, spared

from the restraints of workhouse life, would in itself be a boon of no small value, and should not alarm the greatest sticklers for the abolition of out-door relief. And it would be well also if we were for once to act logically, and were to transform the weekly dole paid to 37,000 widows in the shape of out-door relief, into a pension The same thing applies to all those disabled men and women who, though incapacitated for earning their living, are yet not sufficiently infirm or sick to be permanent inmates of an infirmary or hospital. The endowment of widowhood and disablement might be added to the endowment of old age. And it must be emphatically affirmed that no pension scheme will be satisfactory which depends upon any contribution from the annuitants, or is confined to those who have never received Poor Law relief. The pensions should, indeed, be more free than Poor Law relief is now, and the fact that a little money has been saved, though not sufficient to live on, ought not to be made a disqualification.

The Children.

"In dealing with the children there can

hardly be two opinions as to the advisability, as well as the humanity, of the most generous treatment. They, at any rate, should be kept free from the workhouse taint. None but children in arms should be in the workhouse.

"The present system of bringing them up is a mixed one. Some, the orphans and deserted only, are boarded out in country cottages with foster parents, or in a cluster of cottages under the superintendence of masters and matrons appointed by the Guardians; others are kept in the workhouse in the care of a special nurse, or not infrequently in that of some of the inmates; whilst in most Unions it is customary to send the bulk of the children to large schools, which, in the case of London are in the suburbs or in the country.

"The Boarding-Out System is now adopted by most Boards of Guardians and should be made compulsory. Three-fifths of the indoor children are orphans or have been deserted by their parents, and their training and starting in life is therefore entirely in the hands of the State. The problem they present is not complicated by any question of parental control or authority."

Above all, let every advocate of the raising

of the masses and the abolition of poverty, crime, and suffering, see that in his own person, he shows such an example of self-control, moral rectitude, and diligent discharge of duty, as will inspire confidence in, and respect for, his character and creed; for it is certain that a community of men and women, honourable and high principled, manifestly actuated only by motives of love to their fellows, and desire to advance their highest interests, would be, when properly organised, almighty for good.

In conclusion, let it be carefully noted that in the scheme of reform sketched in the foregoing pages, there is no mention of destroying, or upsetting, any of the existing orders of things. All that is proposed to be done is merely to develop and enlarge one of the most useful and best established of our institutions.

In accomplishing any reform, infinitely more good can be done by building up that which is right, than by overthrowing that which is wrong. If a free course and fair field be granted to the good, evil will diminish of itself. The scheme is not one of *destruction* but of *construction*.

Social reformers have often been reproached,

and not without reason, that they find all kinds of fault with things as they are, but give no definite and clear idea of what they should be. From those who, in future, raise this objection, the author would ask, for at least, a consideration of the contents of this book, and say, "This is what we want to do," and "This is how it can be done."

APPENDIX I.

"Political reforms, as such, are all concerned in the last resort with an Act of Parliament. The grandest moral movements, if they have any practical or political side about them at all, must end in a Bill. You may talk with the tongues of men and of angels, but all your talk must come at last to the clauses of a Bill."

MR. JOHN MORLEY.

STATE EDUCATION ACT.

An Act for providing by the State for the training and education of all the children and youths of Great Britain and Ireland.

WHEREAS it is necessary that due provision be made for the proper maintenance, education and training of all the children born in the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or born of parents resident therein and subject thereto; and whereas it is deemed also for the good of such Kingdom that such maintenance and training shall continue until each child reaches the age of twenty-one years:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parlia-

ment assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Short Title. 1. This Act may be cited as the State Education Act.

2. It shall be the duty of the authorities hereinafter named to provide a sufficient number of

Primary Schools. (*a*) Primary Schools for children of both sexes from four to seven years, both inclusive.

Second Grade Schools. (*b*) Second Grade Schools, for boys and girls together of from eight to fourteen years of age both inclusive.

Intermediate Schools. (*c*) Intermediate Schools for boys and girls of from fifteen to eighteen years of age, both inclusive.

Colleges. (*d*) Special Colleges for Students, male and female separately, from the ages of nineteen to twenty-one, both inclusive. In these the course of study will be specialized, and there shall be in the first instance eight classes of colleges, viz.: agricultural, mechanical, scientific, medical, legal, classical, artistic, and musical. To each of these shall be added workshops, where during the four hours of each day, all classes of industrial operations can be carried on

in a commercial scale; and to the agricultural colleges shall be attached farms, forests, and fruit orchards.

3. All the Schools and Colleges shall be artistically and substantially built, and shall be fitted with the most perfect sanitary, mechanical, and scientific appliances for economising labour, and facilitating work. Buildings.

(*a*) To the Primary and Second Grade Schools, there shall be attached large play-grounds and play-rooms; also dining-rooms, where two substantial meals per day shall be served for all. Sleeping-rooms and Workshops.

In connection with them also, and near to them, shall be homes for such children as have not suitable homes of their own.

(*b*) To the Third Grade Schools and Colleges shall be attached dining and sleeping-rooms for all the students, as well as spacious recreation grounds for all kinds of games, and rooms for the same; workshops for the various trades; reading-rooms, with current literature, museums, art galleries, music and reception-rooms.

4. While pure ethics will be taught in all schools and colleges, nothing in the way of dogmatic theological teaching will be allowed, Religious Teaching.

and no person shall be permitted to hold any permanent office in connection with them, who is a paid minister of any religious sect, church, or order.*

5. At a suitable time in each day of the week the students will be permitted and encouraged to assemble for public worship, and religious instruction, in a part of the building set apart for such purpose, such religious service may be conducted by ministers and members of any sect or society subject to the following conditions :

(*a*) That application be made to the Educational Council for permission to teach, and that a copy of the rules of the Society, or the creed of the sect be deposited with same.

(*b*) That no particular day of the week be set apart for any one person or sect.

* This clause is not intended to imply any disrespect or depreciation of religious teaching, but the reason why paid members of the various sects should not be admitted on the teaching staff of the schools or colleges, is because such persons, from their education and training, have been taught to trust more to authority, than to reason, and are accustomed not to seek out *what is true*, but rather to seek for authority, and invent arguments, to prove that their particular dogma is true. This *is a habit of mind unfitting to a teacher of* TRUTH, upon which eventually, all genuine religion, as well as science, must rest.

(*c*) That such permission may be withdrawn by the local authorities, subject to appeal to Council, if the teaching be found to be immoral in its nature.

(*d*) That the teachers, while having full liberty to expound their own doctrines and dogmas, and recommend them to the utmost, shall entirely refrain from harsh, disrespectful, or uncharitable speaking, with regard to any of the other sects, teachers, or teaching.

(*e*) That no payment of any kind be made by the State or local authorities to any of the said teachers.*

Hours of Study and Work.

6. Between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, both inclusive, all students shall study for four hours, and work for four hours each day, the whole of the work in connection with the Second and Third Grade Schools and Colleges being performed by them.

* The provision is adopted to prevent the establishment of a State sect or religion, and also to enable each student to have an opportunity to examine and compare different creeds and dogmas, and to choose that one, or those parts of each one which are most in accord with his understanding. Any faith accepted merely from authority, or law, not being nearly so valuable to its possessor, as one deliberately accepted after careful examination of the value of the reasons for, and against it.

After the age of twenty-one, each student will be expected and required to devote eight hours each working day to productive service of the State, under the direction of the local authorities. and shall continue to do so for the space of four complete years. After the expiration of this time, the student's debt to the State will be discharged, and he will be at liberty to leave the State employ, or to remain for another thirty years, after which he would be entitled to a retiring pension, the amount of which would equal the full value of all the services rendered by him to the State, less the amount received by him during his period of service.

Promotion in Rank.

7. All posts of usefulness and honor, of whatever kind, throughout the country, shall be filled from the ranks of the State workers, and other things being equal, the senior in each department shall be promoted.

While all appointments to any post shall be by selection of the principals next in rank, they shall be subject to confirmation or otherwise, by a vote of all those from the ranks of which the selection was made.

The confirmation shall be by secret ballot vote. The voters being at liberty either to

vote for the selected candidate, or to nominate any other qualified person for the post, and no one shall be elected by less than a majority of the total number of the votes cast.

No person shall be raised more than one degree in rank or position at one time, and shall serve at least twelve months in each post to which he is elected.*

Administration and Government.

8. All Schools, Colleges, and Universities, will be under the control of a State Council, consisting of seventeen persons, the Secretary of State for Education being president.

Sixteen Educational Boards, consisting of five members each, one of which shall be president, shall be appointed in at least twelve of the principal centres of population of Great Britain, and four for Ireland (one for each province). The Presidents of the Boards shall form the State Council.

Each Parliamentary Polling District shall elect its Education Committee of fifteen persons.

* The adoption of this rule would prevent all nepotism, and favouritism, and would avoid the scandals of our present system of promotion both in the civil and military service, where family influence, high birth, and Court favour often secures to their possessors, posts of honor and profit which could be much better filled by others who have nothing but their merit to recommend them.

Duties of Committee

9. The Local Committee shall have control over the building and furnishing of the Schools of the First and Second Grades, and also of the Intermediate Schools, in their respective districts; also, the appointment of the teachers and professors, and the fixing of all salaries, subject to clause 7. The terms of study and arrangement of work to be fixed by the teachers and professors, subject to the foregoing clauses, and the approval of the Committee.

District Boards.

10. The members of the District Boards shall be elected by the Local Committee, and they shall have control over the building and furnishing of the Colleges, and they shall appoint the teachers and professors therein.

Date of operation of Act.

11. This Act shall come into operation as follows:

Within one year from the passing of the Act, provision shall be made for all Primary Schools

Within three years, provision shall be made for all Secondary Schools.

Within five years, provision shall be made for all Intermediate Schools.

Within twenty years, provision shall be made for all the Colleges and Universities.

12. The necessary funds for putting this Act into operation shall be provided in such manner as Parliament shall determine.

One way, and probably the best way to raise the necessary funds to initiate the scheme, would be by a fair and equitable Property Tax.

Nearly the whole cost of our Civil Government is needed for the purpose of securing to the present owners, the full use and right to their properties. He then who has the most, costs most to the State, and should contribute most to the same.

Let each person, on coming into possession of any property of any kind, declare the amount and value of the same, and have the right to revise, and amend his declaration, year by year if so needed. Such property, wheresoever situated within the dominions of the State, would be protected and secured by its authority, in return for which service, the State could fairly demand as now an annual tax upon its value.

Now the present value of property in the United Kingdom is estimated by competent authorites at £10,000,000,000, thus a tax of

only one-quarter per cent. on this would bring in an income of £25,000,000 a year, or about one-fourth of our annual increase of wealth The annual increase would continue, but one-fourth of it would become State property, the remainder remaining with the individual owners.

Part of this sum of £25,000,000 could be used to build and furnish the schools, and the remainder to acquire the 'land from the present owners for the gardens, farms, and any other purpose of public utility.

It may be objected that if all owners were taxed upon their own declared values, some would declare too little, and so injustice would be done both to the nation, and to those who declare honestly. Let it, however, be understood that any public authority, such as Parliament, or any Parish, District, Town, or County Council should have the right to acquire for public use, any property, at the average of its declared value for the preceding three years; and it will at once be seen, that it is everybody's interest, as well as duty, to declare rightly.

If the declaration be made too low, for the purpose of escaping a fair tax, then the owner would most probably have to sell at a

low price, and the State would benefit. If, on the other hand, wanting, in case of sale, to get an exorbitant price, the owner declared too high a value, then the authorities would probably refuse to buy, but the owner would have to continue paying a tax upon his high valuation, and again the State would benefit.

Were this system of valuation adopted, it would involve no more trouble and expense than does the annual declaration of income, and nearly all the present heavy legal charges and arbitration expenses connected with valuations would disappear; property would be acquired for roads, railways, allotments, small holdings, and other public purposes at its fair value, no valuable land would be kept out of use, as the owner would not for long be able to pay the tax upon it.

With the exception of the method of valuation of property, the above proposal is by no means either new or unconstitutional.

The following extract from the *Financial Reformer*, of November, 1894, shows that in such matters

OUR COLONIES LEAD THE WAY.

They have hitherto confined the tax to land, but there is no reason why all private

property should not equally be taxed.—"In South Australia a tax of a halfpenny in the £ on land values has been in force for some nine or ten years, and has admittedly done much to stop land speculation and to discourage the holding of valuable land out of use. A strong agitation is afoot to treble the tax, and the result of the late elections point to a step in that direction. In New Zealand a tax of a penny in the £, steeply graduated against large estates, was imposed some two years ago. and a Bill giving local option in the taxation of land values was passed by the Lower House last year, but was rejected by "the Lords." In. Tasmania last year, a Bill imposing a tax of one-halfpenny in the £ on land up to the value of £500, and one penny in the £ above the limit, passed the House of Representatives, but was thrown out by the Second Chamber. In Queensland a tax of twopence in the £* has for some time, been imposed for local purposes, and all taxation of buildings and other improvements for such purposes has been abandoned. The system is said to be a great relief to small owners and to the working classes. In the Dominion

* Nearly one per cent.

of Canada, again, there is now local option, in the taxation of ground rents for the forty-ninth parallel to the far North, and from Lake Manitoba to the Pacific Ocean. Throughout the vast district comprising the territories of Athabaska, Saskatchewan, Assinaboia, Alberta, and the North-west proper, any municipality may relieve from taxation all buildings and improvements and personal property, and in British Columbia and Manitoba we have a substantial measure of the same policy. Outlining the financial policy of the Government at the opening of the New South Wales Parliament, on August 28th last, Sir Robert W. Duff, the Governor, said that "The duties imposed by the late Government and many others would be repealed, taxes on unimproved land values and incomes taking their place"; and in opening the Victorian Parliament on Tuesday last, the Governor, Lord Houptoun, dealing with finance, said that, "It was proposed to introduce a tax on the unimproved value of land in conjunction with the absentee tax thereon, also a tax on incomes from other sources."

In order that our readers may guage the significance of these reforms, we should state

that in each case the above taxes on land values are levied on the *capital value of the land*, and that a tax of one penny in the £ on the capital value is roughly equal to a tax of 1s. 8d. in the £ on the annual value. Such a tax in this country, estimating the rental value of the land of the United Kingdom at £160,000,000, would produce a revenue of upwards of £13,000,000, and would admit of such reforms as the payment of members, the payment of election expenses, the abolition of the breakfast table duties, and a forward step in the direction of Old Age Pensions, besides forcing much unused land into the market, and thus helping to solve the problem of the unemployed. Again, the importance of the local option measures may be guaged from the fact that in London, with a population of about 5,000,000, a gross rental of £40,000,000 (improvement values £25,000,000; land values £15,000,000), and rates amounting to some £8,000,000 per annum, the application of the principle to local rates alone would save some £5,000,000 a year."

APPENDIX II.

PENSIONS AND STORED-UP WEALTH.

IT must be clearly understood that while for convenience sake, we speak of saving up for a rainy day, or accumulating funds for old age, yet, as a matter of fact, this cannot possibly be done, excepting to a very limited extent. Nearly the whole of the good things we need for our comfort and happiness in old age, must, in the nature of things, be provided *by some one* the same day, or week, in which they are used and enjoyed, and they cannot be saved or stored. A man may deny himself a good meal, concert or trip on the Continent when he is twenty-five, but it cannot be saved, and if he enjoys a meal, concert, or Continental trip forty years later, it will be, not as the result of anything saved formerly, but at the expense of some labour performed by some one, at the time when it is enjoyed. Let anyone who doubts this, just try and remember how much of even the wealthy man's

daily comfort and enjoyment, comes from labour done years ago, and saved, and how much from that performed day by day. Roads, bridges, railways, canals, and machinery have been made by our predecessors.

The house in which he lives may have been built a hundred years before, but must constantly need repairs and decorations, and the keeping it and his garden clean, wholesome, and neat, depends upon *daily labour*.

If he and his family would have new, and fashionable garments, it is present labour only can give them, and daily attendance only which can keep them clean and proper. His food must depend upon the cook, butcher, fishmonger, gardener, and farmer of to-day. His recreation and amusements are provided by the caterer of to-day. His drives and excursions depend upon the labour of to-day. Thus, but a little reflexion will convince anyone that it is the daily labour that a man can command that contributes most to his comfort, and this cannot be stored up and saved. While these are conclusions at which anyone must arrive who thinks clearly about the matter, it may enable some to accept them more easily to know that it is not only Socialistic dreamers

who make these statements, but sober and recognised authorities upon economics, as witness the following extract from the works of John Stuart Mill, which has been brought to the Author's notice since writing the foregoing :—

"When men talk of the ancient wealth of a country, of riches inherited from ancestors, and similar expressions, the idea suggested is that the riches so transmitted were produced long ago, at the time when they are said to have been first acquired, and that no portion of the capital of a country was produced this year, except so much as may have been this year added to the total amount. The fact is far otherwise.

"*The greater part, in value, of the wealth now existing in England has been produced by human hands within the last twelve months.* A very small proportion indeed of that large aggregate was in existence ten years ago; of the present *productive* capital of the country scarcely any part, except farm houses and factories, and a few ships and machines; and even these would not in most cases have survived so long if fresh labour had not been employed within that period in putting them into repair.

"The land subsists, and the land is almost the only thing that subsists. Everything which is produced perishes, and most things very quickly."

And again :—

"*Capital is kept in existence from age, to age, not by preservation, but by perpetual reproduction.*"

It may be said our common experience teaches us differently, and as a matter of fact many do save and accumulate. True! but not wealth. What men accumulate is authority to command labour. The legal possession of land, gold, silver, jewels, &c., now gives the power, to command the labour of those without such things, and it is absolutely necessary to have a large population existing without them, *i.e.*, in *poverty*, in order that the desire to get them, and, thus exchange them for food, will make some, willing to work for others. It is not enough in order to command service that A, should have surplus coin. it is equally necessary that B, whose service he demands, should be lacking, and desiring it—when all are equally wealthy, or may be so, such command of labour cannot be, and all services will be rendered from far higher motives than mere love of gain.

How then can we save up for Old Age

Pensions? we cannot—but we can do what is practically the same thing; we can produce, and under the scheme as set forth we *should* produce during thirty years of our lives, about three times as much of good and useful things as we can possibly consume. These will consist of food, clothing, houses, public buildings, machinery, books, entertainments, and all the other necessary things for health and comfort. This large surplus production, with the exception of the buildings, and some of the machinery and clothing, *will not be stored up*, but will be enjoyed and consumed by the children and aged persons who are not producing. These goods will be distributed amongst them, "To each according to his needs."

Then, when the State producer comes to the time for enjoyment of his rest and pension, he will have the right to receive in his turn, the fruits of the labour of the younger workers: in other words, he will gladly serve during one portion of his life, and be diligently and honourably served during the remainder.

Until all members of the community have attained to a much higher level of character than at present, security would be needed that one who worked for the young, sick, and aged

in his youth and manhood, would be served by the strong and young in his old age. This security could be attained by crediting him in the books of the establishment where he served, with the full amount of his earnings, less the amounts paid to him

He would be given coupons payable only to himself, which coupons would be to all intents and purposes, equivalent to notes on the Bank of England, with the single exception that they would be absolutely non-transferable, that is, would be exchangeable for goods, or service, only by the person in whose favour they were drawn. By this means, each servant of the State would be sure of his own future, and of receiving, if he lived, the full equivalent to the value of his own services. No one else would be able to deprive him of them, and, as has been shown in the body of the work. the good, useful, and desirable things of the earth are abundant and superabundant for all, so long as they are not monopolized by a few.

If it should be thought that the book-keeping connected with such arrangement would be too great, let it be remembered that in the present system of Post Office Savings' Banks

we have quite an analogous method of book-keeping, so that this difficulty is already met and overcome.

It may be asked, "Why not let the coupons circulate as bank notes, representing as they do real values?"

Were this done, the greedy and selfish would doubtless find ways of securing and accumulating them to the detriment of their former owners; whereas, if they are non-transferable, and each one is cancelled directly it is used by the person in whose favour it was issued, the best means are adopted for securing its value to such person.

But, if the coupon which pays for goods is cancelled, how is the supplier of goods to be remunerated? Simply by accrediting him in the same way with the value of the services rendered in supplying and delivering such goods. In this way he would get the full value for his own services, but could get no *profit* out of others The chief of a distributing store, the manager of a mill, the steward of a farm, or other useful person, would be credited with the full value of his services, so long as he rendered them, and would receive coupons for same. It would,

however, be impossible for him to act like the owner of a mine, estate, mill, or large business now sometimes does, *i.e.*, leave a competent paid manager to do the work for a modest salary, while he, the proprietor, for doing nothing, receives in profit as much per annum as the whole of his workers put together.

It is, of course, fully admitted, that there are many proprietors of mines, estates, factories, and businesses, who work, and who work hard. Such persons should certainly receive full recompense for what they do, in so far as the work done by them is for the advantage of the community. The only thing to be safeguarded against, is crediting anyone with control over wealth who does not in any way contribute to its production.

APPENDIX III.

LORD COLERIDGE ON THE LAWS OF PROPERTY.

THE Lord Chief Justice of England contributed to the April number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1888, an article on "The Laws of Property," in the course of which he said:—

"It seems an elementary proposition that a free people can deal as it thinks fit with its common stock, and can prescribe to its citizens rules for its enjoyment, alienation, and transmission. Yet in practice this seems to be anything but admitted. There are estates in these islands of more than a million acres. These islands are not very large. It is plainly conceivable that estates might grow to fifteen million acres or to more. Further it is quite reasonably possible that the growth of a vast emporium of commerce might be checked, or even a whole trade lost to the country by the simple will of one, or it may be more than one, great landowner. Sweden is a country, speaking comparatively, small and

poor; but I have read in a book of authority that in Sweden at the time of the Reformation three-fifths of the land were in mortmain, and what was actually the fact in Sweden might come to be the fact in Great Britain. These things might be for the general advantage, and if they could be shown to be so, by all means they should be maintained. But if not, does any man possessing anything which he is pleased to call his mind, deny that a state of law under which such mischief could exist, under which a country itself would exist, not for its people but for a mere handful of them, ought to be instantly and absolutely set aside? Certainly there are men who, if they do not assert, imply the negative. A very large coal-owner some years ago interfered with a high hand in one of the coal strikes. He sent for the workmen. He declined to argue, but he said, stamping with his foot upon the ground, 'All the coal within so many square miles is *mine*, and if you do not instantly come to terms not a hundredweight of it shall be brought to the surface, and it shall all remain unworked.' This utterance of his was much criticised at the time. By some it was held up as a subject for panegyric and a

model for imitation; the manly utterance of one who would stand no nonsense, determined to assert his right of property and to tolerate no interference with them. By others it was denounced as insolent and brutal; and it was suggested that if a few more men said such things, and a few men acted on them, it would very probably result in the coalowners having not much right of property left to interfere with. To me it seemed then, and seems now, an instance of that density of perception and inability to see distinctions between things inherently distinct of which I have said so much. I should myself deny that the mineral treasures under the soil of a country belong to a handful of surface proprietors in the sense in which this gentleman appeared to think they did. That 50 or 100 gentlemen, or 1,000, would have a right, by agreeing to shut the coalmines, to stop the manufactures of Great Britain and to paralyse her commerce seems to me, I must frankly say, unspeakably absurd.

"It is not even the old idea about such things. Coal mining is comparatively recent; but the custom of bounding as to tin in Cornwall, the customs of the High Peak in

Derbyshire as to lead, the legal rule everywhere as to gold and silver, are enough to show that in these matters the general advantage was in former days openly and avowedly regarded, and that when rights of private property interfered with it they were summarily set at naught. To extend to coal and copper the old law applicable to tin and lead may be wise or foolish, but is surely no more an assault on property itself than was the old law which prescribed that, in certain places and in certain circumstances, the owner of the surface should not prevent the winning of mineral treasure by others entirely unconnected with him, or with the surface land. It is not to the point to say that these laws were found to be inconvenient, and have in some places and to some extent been abrogated. It may be so. Inconvenience, that is that they were not in practise found to be for the general advantage, is a very good reason for abrogating them. That they existed and had to be modified on grounds of expediency is a proof of the point for which I am contending, namely, that these old laws show that the distinction I think so important was early and largely recognised; and that while property

itself was acknowledged, the laws of its enjoyment were regulated according to what was thought to be the general advantage. I am told, but I do not know of my own knowledge, that the laws in Prussia against the landowner and in favour of the discoverer and winner of mineral treasures are still more stringent than those of Cornwall or Derbyshire, yet I suppose that no one will contend that in Prussia the laws of property are disregarded, or that the principle of property is unsafe.

"Take again, for a moment, the case of perpetuities, to which I have more than once alluded, as exemplified in gifts *inter vivos*, or in what, by a common but strange abuse of language, are called "munificent bequests," after a man has had all the enjoyment possible to him, to religious or charitable objects. Persons either not capable of attributing definite meaning to their language, or at least not accustomed to do so, talk of any interference with such dispositions as immoral and brand it as sacrilege. The wisest clergyman who ever lived, as Mr. Arnold calls Bishop Butler, pointed out nearly 150 years ago that all property is and must be regulated by the laws of the community; that we may with a good

conscience retain any property whatever, whether coming from the Church or no, to which the laws of the State give title; that no man can give what he did not receive; and that, as no man can himself have a perpetuity, so he cannot give it to anyone else. No answer has ever been attempted to Bishop Butler; none seems possible; yet men go on, like the priest and Levite, pass it by on the other side, and repeat the parrot cry of immorality and sacrilege without ever taking the trouble to clear their minds, perhaps being congenitally unable to do so, or to ascertain whether there is any argument which will 'hold' upon which to justify the charge. These are they who

> might move
> The wise man to that scorn which wisdom holds
> Unlawful ever,

and from whom I part with this one word. There may be abundant and very good reasons for maintaining the inviolability of all gifts or bequests in perpetuity; there may be abundant and very good reasons for maintaining the contrary; but to call names does not advance an argument; abuse is not reasoning, and moderate and reasonable men are apt to distrust the soundness of a cause which needs such arts and employs such weapons.

"Furthermore, it is often said that you may no doubt alter the laws of property on a proper case being shown for the alteration. Sensible men see that what Bishop Butler calls 'plain absurdities' follow from any other doctrine. It would indeed be difficult in the face of railway bills, gas bills, water bills, tramway bills, dock bills, harbour bills (the catalogue is endless) passed by the hundred every year through both Houses of Parliament, to deny that private property may be rightly interfered with for the public good, even when the public is represented chiefly, if not entirely, by a small band of speculators.

"But then it is said you have no right to do it, except on proper compensation. I ask respectfully, however, what is the exact meaning of these words, 'right' and 'proper'? Is the absolute right, right, I say, not power, for that no man questions, is the absolute right of the State intended to be denied to deal with the common stock with or without compensation? And by proper compensation is it meant that the compensation is to be proper in the opinion of the person compensated, or the person compensating, or of whom? Or is it intended to say only that any change

in the tenure of property or of the laws of property made by law should be made with as little suffering to individuals as may be, and with as much consideration as possible for the present holders and present expectants of property, whether real or personal? If the latter proposition is intended, no man in his senses will differ from it. Men to whose personal loss the law is altered are, as matter of common fairness, to be considered in every way, and nothing should be done to their detriment which it is possible to avoid. Everyone will agree in this. But if the right is questioned, and if the sufficiency of the compensation is to be determined by the person compensated, let this be considered. A foreign army lands, or a foreign fleet threatens our coasts. The general in command of the district, in the name of the sovereign, that is, of the State, orders the destruction of a house which, if left standing, might be an important military position for the invading army; or it may be as a military precaution, a large tract of cultivated country, gardens, orchards, or the like, has to be laid entirely waste. Have the owners a claim, a legal right, to compensation? It has been decided for cen-

turies, in accordance with good sense most certainly not. *Salus populi suprema lex.** Take another case which has actually happened. Parliament supplies the funds for a great public and national harbour, created by a huge breakwater, which the officers of the Sovereign construct. The effect of this great national work is to turn the tide of the sea full on to the lands of a beach-bounded proprietor some miles off, who could only save his land from utter destruction by the erection of a long and massive sea wall. Has he a claim, a legal right, to compensation? Again I answer most certainly not. *Salus populi suprema lex.* Many other cases might be put to which the answer would be the same, but these are enough for my purpose. And now as to the sufficiency of the compensation. The property is taken, and often in the opinion of him who loses it no compensation is sufficient. Suppose the possessor of an ancient and beautiful house, endeared to him by a thousand tender and noble memories, is told that he must part with it for the public good. The public good comes to him perhaps represented by an engineer, a contractor, an attorney,

* The welfare of the people is the highest law.

a parliamentary agent, and a parliamentary counsel. He is very likely well off in point of money, and does not at all want the compensation; but he is a man of feeling, or, if you will, of imagination, and he does want his house. He does not believe in the public caring two straws for the railway between Eatonswill and Mudborough. He thinks it hard that the engineer and the rest of them should pull down his old hall, and root up his beautiful pleasure grounds. But he is told that the public good requires it, that a jury will give him compensation, and that he has no cause for complaint; and told sometimes by the very people who, when it is proposed to apply the same process for the same reasons to other rights or laws of property, are frantic in their assertion of the sacredness of these laws, and vehemently maintain that to touch one of them is to assail the existence of property and dissolve society. Once more, let us see things as they are, recognise distinctions admit consequences, clear our minds, and if we must differ, as probably we must, let us differ without calling names or imputing motives.

"These are individual instances; but all history, and, in a high degree the history o

these islands, is full of examples, in which the principle has been unhesitatingly applied to whole classes in the name of the public good. To corporations it has been constantly extended, artificial persons so far as the corporation itself goes, we know, yet made up of individuals who have had to submit to deprivation of property and consequent loss of position without a shadow of compensation. Monasteries, colleges, convents, corporation boroughs, and other corporations have all at different times of our history, and in different circumstances, been thought either partly or entirely inconsistent with the general welfare; and accordingly their property has been taken from them sometimes wholly, sometimes in part, sometimes by compulsory sale, sometimes by simple removal. Great proprietors in many cases now stand in the place of these corporations without any injury to the principle of property, though as a consequence of great changes in the laws regulating its enjoyment. And if in times to come, by the same means, and for the same reasons, other classes of the nation were to stand in the place of these great proprietors, it would no more follow then than it has followed now that the principle of property would be

assailed, though the laws by which it is enjoyed might change. All laws of property must stand upon the foot of general advantage; a country belongs to the inhabitants; in what proportions and by what rules its inhabitants are to own it must be settled by the law; and the moment a fragment of the people set up rights inherent in themselves, and not founded on the public good, 'plain absurdities' follow.

"This, at least, seems to have been the view which, consciously or unconsciously, governed the English lawyers who invented, so greatly to the general advantage, the laws of copyhold. When the tenants had created the farms and built the homesteads on land which they held at the will of the lord, and out of which, by the theory of the law, they could be turned at his pleasure, though they had made one and built the other; and in respect of which, by the same theory the lord might have made them pay a heavy rent for what was the fruit of their own hands; the English lawyers intervened with the healing doctrine of the custom of the manor, by which fixity of tenure was secured to the tenant, and the lord's exactions were curbed within fixed and reasonable limits. Compulsory enfranchisement has followed

of late years; but the mitigating effect of manorial custom in harsher times can hardly be overrated; and the absence of such an influence in the sister island, where there are no manors, has sharpened and intensified those hostile feelings between the lord and tenant, which are apt to grow up even in the most favourable circumstances, and under the best system of land laws in the world.

"It is interesting in this relation to note the very different views taken by the same persons of substantially the same things, according to the point of view from which they are regarded. We have heard a good deal lately, I do not say too much, of the enormous importance of maintaining the eighth commandment; and there can be no doubt that the eighth commandment is an elementary law of morals, and should be regarded as one of the vital principles of political ethics. But till very lately the eighth commandment had no application, at least in England, to the money of a wife if it came to her after marriage. As Lord Lyndhurst once said, a man might steal his wife's money to keep a mistress, and somehow or other this was not forbidden by the eighth commandment. As a matter of history, the great difficulty in getting this com-

mandment applied to the wife's property was raised by those who are most emphatic as to its obligations in other matters. After many struggles the power of stealing was forbidden up to £200. At this point the matter remained for some years. Then an attempt was made to extend the prohibition to all the wife's property; but the measure was swept away with scorn by a great nobleman who, on questions of this sort, held the House of Lords in the hollow of his hand. A few years passed, and the same great nobleman carried the same Bill as his own, without a word of acknowledgment on his part, or of remonstrance on that of the authors of it, who were too glad of the result to say a single syllable as to his breach of this great precept.

"Again, there are points connected with the law of distress, and, I presume, of hypothec (though here I speak with the becoming diffidence of an ignorant English lawyer), the justice of which, at least to the ordinary and uninstructed mind certainly seems to need explanation. To seize one man's goods, who owes nothing to anyone, to pay the debt of another does at first sight seem a breach of the eighth commandment. But it is still the law in England as to agisted

cattle, and as to all goods except such as are protected by the Lodgers' Act of very recent times. And I remember very well a very honourable man, a friend of mine, who rented a handsome set of rooms in London, and who was also landlord of a large farm near London. He had duly paid his rent, but some valuable property of his was seized by the superior landlord of the house, to whom he owed nothing, and this he thought oppressive and unjust; but he seized without a pang the cattle of a man who owed him nothing which had been agisted on land occupied by his tenant, who owed him rent, and this he maintained to be a just and proper exercise of the rights of property. I have not invented this example. My friend was a very intelligent man, and I give the facts as an instance of how the point of view may distort the vision, and how hard it is for even the best of us to keep the head cool and the mind unclouded. How the owner of the agisted cattle looked upon my friend's seizure I may guess perhaps, but I do not know.

"Again, a great nobleman or a millionaire, who owns half the land in a county, hungers after the possession of the other half; and the indulgence in this land hunger is a dignified

and honourable taste, inspired by high feeling worthy of a man of rank and wealth, and by all means to be encouraged. A poor peasant hungers after the possession of a few acres which he occupies, but his land hunger for that which is to him, as Lord Chancellor Blackburne said, a necessity of life, for the soil which he has reclaimed, and for the hut which he has built, this is a breach of the spirit and letter of the Decalogue, something between petty larceny and highway robbery, to be condemned of all well-educated and rightly-affected men, forbidden by the rules of political economy, and its indulgence to be discouraged, and, as far as may be, made impossible by law. Yet surely both hungers are alike defensible, alike permissible; nay, perhaps the hunger of the peasant is the better of the two, so far as the desire for subsistence is better than the love of power.

"We may assume that, as a rule, no changes in the law of property or the conditions of its enjoyment are likely to be made, or ought to be made, except either with the consent of persons affected by the change, or with the compensation if his assent is not given. What should be the terms of compensation, and whether any but

the actual owners of property should receive it, are details, not principle, and it would be unprofitable to discuss them. The rule, no doubt, will always be what I have stated. But a very slight acquaintance with English history is enough to tell us that this rule has been by no means universally observed; and the long series of parliamentary resumptions of Crown grants from the time of Henry III. to the time of William III. proves this statement beyond question. Some of these Acts were no doubt procured by the kings themselves; but some certainly were passed by no means to please the reigning sovereign; and when the lands and other revenues allotted for the service of the king and of the State have been parted with, Parliaments, at least in England, have seldom failed to relieve and restore affairs by Acts of Resumption. The whole history and the details of this question are to be found in a small volume published about the end of the reign of William III., under the title of "A Discourse upon Grants and Resumptions." I quote from the second edition published at London in the year 1700. The instances there collected seem to me to show with great fulness of authority that property is not inherently in this class or

in that, in this man or in that, that laws of property are, like all other laws, made by the State for the State, and are the expression of what is from time to time the judgment of that cultivated intelligence which, in a free country, controls and leads the opinion of the State upon the various subjects of its laws.

It is very true that all change, or almost all change, of the laws of property affects either existing rights or rights which reversioners might naturally regard as certainly coming to themselves. This is a reason why, as I have already said, every such change should be made with care and tenderness, without unnecessary disturbance, with compensation satisfactory, if it may be, even to the persons unfavourably affected by the change, and doing no violence to the great principle, that right must not be compassed by wrong, nor evil done that good may come of it. But it is not wrong to change the law on good reason and fair terms; it is not evil to vindicate the supremacy of the State over that which is being employed for its destruction.

I have spoken in the abstract, and have discussed principles, and not details, because I have been struck with the mischief done by

the unquestioned assertion of so-called principles, which I think false and absurd, and which if admitted, would bind us down with adamantine chains which we could never break, because it would be immoral even to attempt to remove them. It would be well indeed that all owners of property in land or money, from the largest to the smallest, should recognise distinctly that their title to the enjoyment of it must rest upon the same foundation; law, whether positive or prescriptive; law which is practical and intelligible; not upon anything sacred, or mystical and transcedental, and that the mode and measure of their enjoyment of the common stock of the State, if it injures the State, can no more be defended, and will no more endure, than can any other public mischief or nuisance, be it criminal or be it civil. All this will be found insisted upon by the great writer, Mr. Austin, and expressed by him with an ability which I wish for in vain, and an authority to which I can make no pretension.

"It is no doubt often said that to change the laws of property involves, as a rule, an interference with free contract; and that to interfere with freedom of contract is a mis-

chievous violation of one of the elementary doctrines of political economy. I am certainly not so foolish as to attack freedom of contract, or to deny that, as a general rule, it is the soundest foundation for business relations between man and man. Nor do I question that, speaking generally, to interfere with it is mischievous and demoralising, unjust to those against whom we interfere, and injurious to the manliness and self-reliance of those in whose apparent interest the interference is made. But freedom of contract implies that both parties to it, are really, and not nominally, free. There can be no free contract between a slave and his owner, none with a little child; none where one party to a so-called contract can impose, and the other party to it must accept its terms, however burdensome, however inherently unjust. Under the truck system (I speak, I am sorry to say, from the evidences given before the last Truck Commission, and from the yearly reports of the inspectors of factories) it is possible to deliver over men and women into a degrading, hopeless, livelong slavery, from which there is practically no escape, and against which there is practically no redress, by so arranging the

payment or wages that a debt is created which can never be paid off, and the service is so hampered that it cannot be relinquished except at a sacrifice, always very serious, sometimes absolutely ruinous. The forms of free contract, however, are observed, and political economists of the doctrinaire order wax hot, and almost rise into eloquence in denouncing all attempts to relieve the modern slave, lest the sacrosant principle of freedom of contract should be even in appearance violated.

"But what is free-will in a contract—not in theological or metaphysical language, but in plain sense and according to common understanding? Not surely where a man is in the old Homeric phrase ἐκών ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ,* a state of mind as ancient as Homer, and as modern as Lord Tennyson. Aristotle, at the beginning of the third book of the Nicomachean Ethics, has collected a number of instances in which, though the will is nominally free, the action cannot in any sense be called voluntary; and Aristotle might have taught our politico-economical friends with a wisdom and intelligence which more than two thousand

* With free will but unwilling mind.

years have not availed to lessen, that a contract nominally free may be a cruel instrument of tyranny and oppression to be denounced by moralists and summarily set aside by fair and just laws."

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